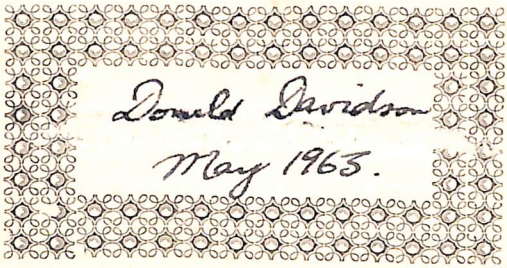

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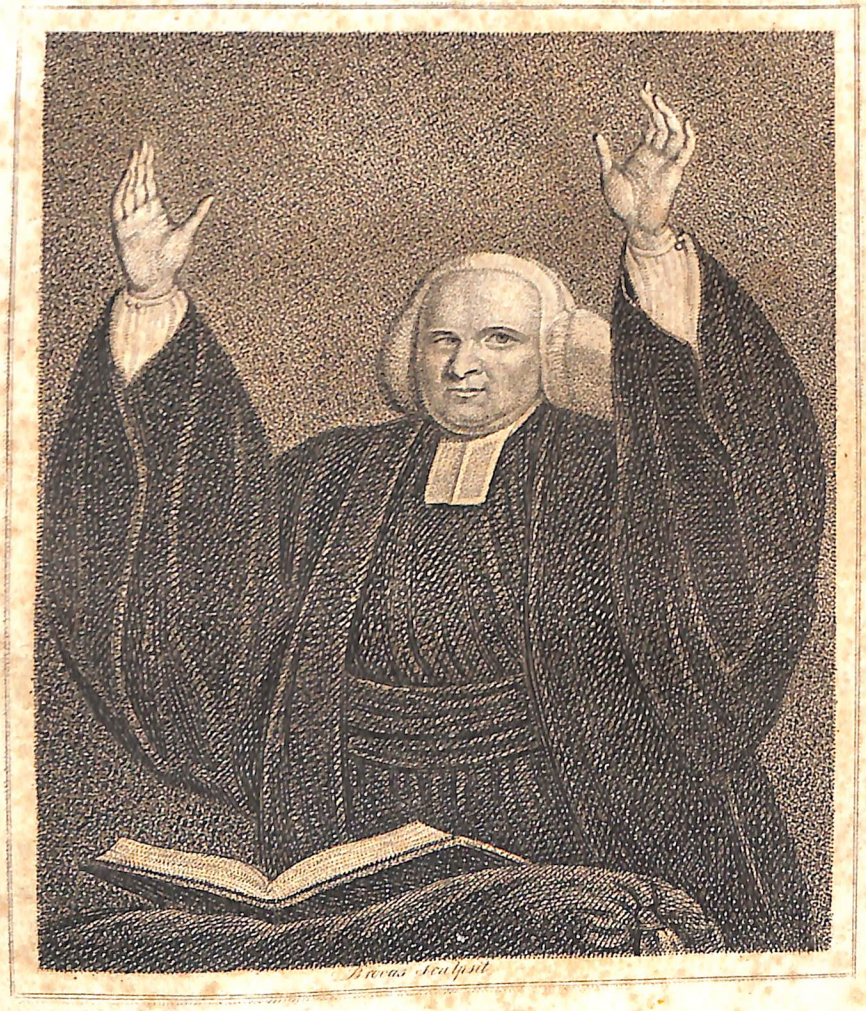

THE REVD. GEORGE WHITEFIELD. A.M.

Chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon

MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF THE LATE

REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD, A.M.

OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HON. THE COUNTESS DOWAGER OF HUNTINGDON.

FAITHFULLY SELECTED FROM HIS

Original Papers, Journals, and Letters;

ILLUSTRATED

BY A

VARIETY OF INTERESTING ANECDOTES,

From the best Authorities.

BY THE LATE

REV. J. GILLIES, D.D.

MINISTER OF THE COLLEGE CHURCH OF GLASGOW.

SECOND EDITION,

REVISED AND CORRECTED, WITH LARGE ADDITIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

I venerate the man whose heart is warm,
Whose hands are pure, whose *doctrine* and whose *life*,
Coincident, exhibit lucid proof,
That he is *honest* in the SACRED CAUSE.—COWPER.

He was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith: and much people was added unto the Lord.—*Acts* xi. 24.
He that winneth souls is wise.—*Proverbs* xii. 30.
And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.—*Dan.* xii. 3.

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PREFACE.

WE live in an eventful period. Melancholy and deeply afflictive are the calamities which have visited Europe. The reign of sin has been bloody and desperate, and it still continues very awful and tremendous. The sword of war is depopulating the European world; and storms of wrath are shaking terribly the nations. But among the many painful events which shock the feelings of humanity, we have one most pleasing circumstance to contemplate. Amidst the journals of bloodshed and national distractions, with which the civil historian is compelled to present his readers, the annalist of the church of God has the happier task assigned him, of recording the grand victories obtained by the Captain of salvation, through the instrumentality of those spiritual heroes, he sends forth from time to time; whose lives and talents are devoted to the interests of their divine Master, whose they are, and whom they serve, in calling sinners, saving souls, and fighting the good fight of faith.

High and honourable is the office of God's minister. There is no office which a mortal can possibly sustain of equal dignity and importance; as it is an office deriving its authority from the appointment of God himself, and promoting, in its effects, the glory of the Saviour in the salvation of his people.

To impart the knowledge of this salvation to others, is the highest ambition that can actuate the human breast; an ambition that filled the souls of prophets and apostles; an ambition which peculiarly animated the strong affections of the great St. Paul, and gave an ardour, an energy to all his ministrations. Delightful and exalted employment! To proclaim the name of Jesus to sinners wandering in the wildest error, and beclouded with the grossest blindness——to proclaim him a light shining upon a benighted world; a light dispelling the mist of ignorance, and opening the brightness of truth——to publish the glad-tidings of redemption to people held captive in the strongest bonds of Satan; and to be made the honoured instrument of turning them to God; a God not of inflexibly stern justice, but of tender mercy in his Son. What office so important! What office so honourable! What office so delightful as this!

In every age the great Head of the church has been pleased to raise up a train of faithful witnesses, who have borne an uniform and honourable testimony to the divine origin of Christianity, whose special office it has been to warn the wicked, and proclaim the glad-tidings of salvation by free grace to perishing sinners. During the last sixty or seventy years, a very important revival took place in the church of England. To use the words of one of her sons: "At that time a minister of the church of England, who ventured to maintain her articles and homilies in doctrine, and who supported them in fact by a holy practice, was a kind of prodigy, and met with nothing but censure, persecution, and hard names, from all ranks and sorts of men. Our pulpits resounded with morality, deduced from the principles of nature, and the fitness of things, with no relation to Christ or the Holy Ghost; all which the Heathen philosophers have insisted on, and with perhaps more than

modern ingenuity, and in consequence of this, our streets have resounded with immorality."* In this unhappy time, that highly-honoured ambassador of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Rev. GEORGE WHITEFIELD, with several other excellent men,† were raised up, and made instruments in the hand of God, of restoring the doctrines of the reformation, and spreading them widely amongst the population of these countries.

Perhaps no man since the days of St. Paul, not even Luther himself, was ever personally blessed to the call and conversion of so many souls from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God, as Mr. Whitefield. Few, if any, since the apostles, have been more extensively useful, or laboured more abundantly. He had such an ardent zeal for God, and inflamed desire for the salvation of sinners, that no labours could weary him, no difficulties or opposition discourage him. His zeal could not be confined within the British Islands. His ardent desire for the salvation of immortal souls, conveyed him to the distant shores of America, where he travelled far and wide, proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation through faith in a crucified Redeemer. His labours in both hemispheres were immense; his courage undaunted; and his zeal unquenchable. He may without hesitation, be justly pronounced one of the greatest divines, as well as one of the best of men, not only of his own, but of any other age. He was long "a burning and a shining light" in the church, and blest with eminent usefulness. He determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified; he was not ashamed of that Gospel he had proved to be the power of God unto salvation. He preached the doctrine of the church of England, according to the conscientious subscription

* Middleton's Evangelica Biographia, vol. 4.

† The Rev. J. and C. Wesley, Hervey, Morgan, Ingham.

he had made to the thirty-nine articles at his ordination. He held them in their literal and grammatical sense, the sense commonly called Calvinistic; which, however some dignified writers now affect to disclaim as heretical, and substitute any interpretation but the compilers.

How many thousands, in the obscure villages of England, would probably have lived and died strangers to the necessary truths of the gospel, and their saving efficacy, had not Mr. Whitefield, despising inglorious ease, and equally careless of human censure or applause, ventured without the camp, and endured, for the sake of Christ and souls, the toils of evangelizing these British Heathen!

When the last trumpet shall rend the skies, then those who now keep so close within the lines of cold indifference, tamely beholding the Son of God crucified afresh, shall be clothed with shame, while those who dare to be singular in contending for the faith, and glory in reproach as their highest praise, shall enter the church above, as conquerors returning from the field of battle, with the spoils of their enemies, and unite all their powers in ascribing to the Captain of their salvation, the undivided honour of their victory, and its inseparable duration of happiness.

Mr. Whitefield was faithful and indefatigable in the service of his Master. He took up his cross, and laboured in season and out of season, through evil report and good report, to preach the everlasting gospel to the poor. The diversified labours in which he engaged, his separation from the common amusements and many of the allowed habits of worldly society, the largeness of many of his congregations, the earnestness of his manner of preaching, the subjects on which he generally treated, the evident effects produced on many of his hearers, all contributed to fix the observation of the world on him.

Odious appellations were frequently fastened on him, and his followers. The shafts of ignorance, prejudice, illiberality, and jealousy, were repeatedly aimed and cast at him. But neither the anathemas of the bishops, nor the opposition of the clerical order, could arrest his progress. Great was the truth, and it prevailed.

Mr. Whitefield adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour, which he preached, and will continue in the memory of all that ever knew him, as a glorious monument to testify that "*the licentious* doctrines of grace," (as some have presumed to call them) may lead to the purest morality and holiness. They who knew him best must witness, how holy he had his conversation in the world. The vast collections he made for charitable purposes, particularly for the Orphan-house of Georgia, though most faithfully applied, sharpened the tongue of slander. Never was man more vilified and traduced than he was. Time hath affixed the seal of integrity to all his procedures; and that awful day is coming when his great and adorable Master will condemn every tongue that hath risen up in judgment against him, and say in the presence of men and angels, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

With respect to his talents, if the opinion of the few, or the admiration of the multitude be taken, his pulpit eloquence was unrivalled. Even Mr. Hume acknowledged "it surpassed every thing he ever saw or heard in any other preacher;" and that he witnessed (as many still living have also done) "almost a whole assembly melted into tears" by it. He was endued with popular talents, great vivacity of spirit, readiness of expression, and a voice remarkably strong and musical, and capable of the most various intonations. His manner was highly graceful and oratorical; and his eloquence too singular not to command the most profound attention. Never

man possessed a greater command of the human passions, or better knew the way to the consciences of his hearers; he had arrows in his quiver, that himself only knew how to sharpen.

> "Truth from his lips prevailed with double sway;
> And fools, who came to mock, remained to pray."

The character of Barnabas may, with great propriety, be applied to him: "He was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, and of faith." But it may be said, he was a perfect character. No: this is not the lot of mortals on this side the grave; no human character is perfect: infirmities are to be found in the most eminent believers. Though few persons possessed greater excellencies than Mr. Whitefield; he also had his failings—they were the failings of a *man*—but his virtues were the virtues of an *apostle*. The æra of his ministry has been exceeded only by that of Luther and Calvin. But he needs no posthumous fame to blazon his worth; he is alike beyond all human censure and commendation which can affect him. On the whole—as a man—as a christian—as a minister, we shall be long, I fear, ere we "shall look upon his like again."

It may be proper to assign the reasons which induced me to undertake the present edition of Mr. Whitefield's life.

As it is now thirty-eight years since it was first published, and long since out of print, few comparatively were possessed of this rich treasure, a new edition of it was much wanted; and although forty years have elapsed since his life and labours were closed, he still lives, and will long live in the remembrance of thousands of serious christians in England, Scotland, Ireland, and America. The high veneration I bear to the memory of the venerable saint departed, induced me to hope I might contribute something towards its being had in everlasting

remembrance. And as it has long been the desire of many persons, to see a more full and complete account of this extraordinary man, than any that had appeared, I judged it to be a debt due to his memory, and to the Christian world, to collect and compile such an authentic and properly arranged narrative of his life and death, as might be at once clear and sufficiently full, comprising every article of importance. These considerations, and the pleasure and profit I have derived from reading the account of his unwearied exertions in the cause of God, have made me desirous, if possible, to give it more extensive circulation, in the fullest conviction that it will afford to every gracious heart, matter of thankfulness, and great joy; stimulate the remaining noble army of confessors, to imitate those excellencies which shone forth so conspicuously in him, and all the people of God to be more diligent followers of those, who through faith and patience inherit the promises.

The present edition contains every circumstance worthy of notice, both in the public and private character of this great and good man. A great quantity of new matter has been introduced; several mistakes are rectified with regard to the names of persons and places, dates, and other minute circumstances; and the work is considerably enlarged by inserting several interesting and entertaining anecdotes, with many important additions and corrections, together with Biographical Sketches of the principal persons mentioned in the narrative. I sought information from various quarters, and obtained it: and I have been enabled to enlarge and amend the work, in consequence of having received several anecdotes and useful hints, &c. from different persons. And I gladly embrace this opportunity of publicly expressinn my affectionate and respectful acknowledgements to them for their various and kind communications. I have given a detail of facts—a history, not a panegyric.

Beside the above improvements, the reader must be informed, that great liberties have been taken with the original composition, which has been amended throughout. Whether this is really the case must be left to the judicious reader.

On the whole it is hoped that this edition, which has been a work of more labour than may be generally imagined, will be found to contain many considerable improvements, as well as many valuable additions. I have done what I could to render the whole interesting and useful, and I trust that the work will be of lasting use to the church of God, and a mean of edification to thousands yet unborn.

I am fully aware of the inadequacy of my talents to do justice to the character of so great a man. The only merit I claim is impartiality. Having never had any religious connection with any society belonging to the Methodists, my pen has not moved at the impulse of party zeal: and if I have spoken favourably of the character of the dear departed patriarch, I wish the reader to understand, that what is said is the award of an unbiassed and disinterested mind; and I throw myself upon his candour and indulgence, to apologize for what he may deem defective in the history of so distinguished a person.

I have only to add my fervent wishes, that the divine Redeemer may render the following pages subservient to the display of his own glory, and the best interests of mankind.

AARON C. SEYMOUR.

Baggot-street, April, 1811.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD,

&c. &c. &c.

CHAP. I.

From his Birth, to his going to the University of Oxford, Anno 1732.

THIS highly-honoured ambassador of the Lord Jesus, was born at Gloucester, on the 16th day of December, O. S. 1714. His father, Mr. Thomas Whitefield, nephew of the Rev. Samuel Whitefield, rector of Rockhampton, in Gloucestershire, was first bred to the employment of a wine merchant, in Bristol; but afterwards kept an inn in the city of Gloucester. In that city he married Mrs. Elizabeth Edwards, by whom he had six sons and one daughter. Of these, George was the youngest; who, being bereaved of his father, when only two years old, was regarded by his mother with peculiar tenderness, and educated with more than ordinary care.

He was early under religious impressions; but he acknowledged with compunction, what every body must feel whether they acknowledge it or not, that the bent of our carnal nature is turned directly from God, and inclined to nothing but evil.

Between the years of twelve and fifteen he made much progress in the Latin classics, at the public schools; and his eloquence began to appear, even at that early period, in the speeches which he delivered at the annual visitations. It is probable the applause he received on these occasions, contributed to his fondness for theatrical amusements: from whence it has been insinuated that he learned his oratory upon the stage. This, however, seems to have no other foundation, than his acting a part sometimes with his fellow scholars; particularly, in certain dramatic performances prepared for them by their master: for that he was more indebted as an orator to nature, than to art of any kind, must be evident to all persons of discernment who were acquainted with him. Such could not fail to observe, that his eloquence was in a great measure the effect of his genius, and proceeded chiefly from that peculiar assemblage of extraordinary talents with which God had endowed him.

Notwithstanding this, it appears from his conduct that he either had not yet discovered where his talents lay, or could not find means to qualify himself for entering into any profession where they might be properly exercised: for when he was about fifteen years of age, he declined the pursuit of learning, and talked of getting an education that would better fit him for business. During this period, his rising genius was deprived of the usual means of improvement, through the decrease of his mother's trade; and he was obliged to assist her in carrying on the business of the inn. His turn of mind, however, though depressed, could not be extinguished; and the prevailing bent of his genius began now strongly to discover itself, for even in this unfavourable situation he composed several sermons, one of which he dedicated to his eldest brother: and after visiting him at Bristol, he came home with a resolu-

tion to abandon his present employment, and to turn his thoughts a different way.

After this being for some time disengaged from every pursuit, and but poorly supported out of his mother's scanty subsistence, he was in no small danger of being utterly ruined by the influence of his former companions: but it pleased God to break the snare, by filling him with an abhorrence of their evil deeds.

About this time the impressions of religion began again to recover their influence in his breast: and when he was seventeen years of age, he received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He now became more watchful, both over his own heart and conversation. He spent much of his time in reading books of devotion; attended public worship twice every day: and so deeply was he engaged in these exercises, that his thoughts were constantly set on the great things of religion.

CHAP. II.

From the time of his going to the University of Oxford, to his embarking for Georgia, Anno 1737.

WHEN Mr. Whitefield arrived at eighteen, he was sent to the University of Oxford, where he was again exposed to the snares of the wicked: but by the grace of God, he was enabled to resist them, and to cultivate an acquaintance only with such persons as seemed to preserve a sense of religion, through the whole of their deportment.

He was by them convinced of the evangelical and most important doctrine, (so much at that period, as well as at the present, exploded and despised by every carnal mind) that we "must be born again," or outward religion will profit us nothing. He now fasted twice a week, visited the sick and the prisoners—thus redeeming the time, that no moment might be lost. He changed the course of his studies, reading only such books as entered into the heart of religion, and lead to the knowledge of Jesus Christ and him crucified.

Awful and gloomy was the period when Methodism* (so called) first appeared in these kingdoms. Serious and practical christianity appeared to be at the lowest

* Of the *name* of Methodist, as applied to Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Wesley, and their followers, the following account is given. In the year 1729, the Rev. John and Charles Wesley, with two or three young men occasionally met together, for the purpose of assisting and encouraging each other, in their studies and religious duties; they received the sacrament weekly, and regulated their employments by certain rules. The exact regularity of their lives, as well as studies, occasioned a young gentleman of Christ's Church, Oxford, to say, "there is a new set of Methodists sprung up," in allusion to an ancient College of Physicians at Rome, who began to flourish about the time of Nero, and continued several ages; they were remarkable for putting their patients under regimen, and were therefore termed Methodists. In a short time after the society increased, and in the latter end of the year 1729 it consisted of the following persons: Mr. John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln College, Mr. Charles Wesley, student of Christ's Church, Mr. Richard Morgan, of Christ's Church, and Mr. Kirkman, of Merton College. The next year, two or three of Mr. John Wesley's pupils desired the liberty of meeting with them; and afterwards one of Mr. Charles Wesley's pupils. In 1732, Mr. Benjamin Ingham, of Queen's College, and Mr. Broughton, of Exeter, were added to their number. In April in the same year, Mr. Clayton of Brazen-nose College, with two or three of his pupils were added. About the same time, Mr. James Hervey, pupil to Mr. John Wesley; and in the year 1735, Mr. George Whitefield, of Pembroke College, joined them. At that time there were fourteen or fifteen in number, all collegians, of one heart and one mind, and must be considered as the first Methodists. They formed rules for the regulation of their time, their

ebb; vital religion, so flourishing in the last century, was scarcely known! and the only thing insisted on, was a defence of the out-works of christianity against the objections of infidels. What was the consequence? The writings of infidels multiplied every day, and infidelity made a rapid progress among persons of every rank, not because they were reasoned into it by the force of argument, but because they were kept strangers to Christ and the power of the gospel. We have a most affecting description of this, by bishop Butler, whom none will suspect of exaggerating the fact:*— "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, that christianity is not so much as a subject of enquiry; but that it is, now at length, discovered to be fictitious; and accordingly they treat it, as if in the present age, this were agreed point among all people of discernment; and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule as it were by way of reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world." Such was the gloomy state of religion in Great Britain and Ireland, when the Lord was pleased to cause a glorious revival, in the midst of abounding impiety, through the instrumentality of the despised Methodists.

At Oxford, Mr. Whitefield became acquainted with the Rev. Charles Wesley, under whose ministry he received so much benefit, that he accounted him his spiritual father. And Mr. Wesley's reciprocal affection for him, stands recorded in the verses at the beginning of Mr. Whitefield's second and third Journals.

studies, reading the Scriptures, and self-examination. They also visited the sick, and the prisoners; and received the Lord's Supper every week. Our Lord's parables of the leaven hid in three measures of meal, and of the grain of mustard seed, Matthew xiii. 31—34, were herein strikingly illustrated, for, from these very small beginnings, what a great increase has been given!———*See Miles's Chronology.*

* Preface to his Analogy, May 1736.

Mr. Whitefield now began to be tried as with fire. Not only his reputation was lost, and some of his dearest friends forsook him; but he was exercised with inward trials, and those of the severest kind. Many nights he lay sleepless in his bed—many days prostrate on the ground. But after he had groaned many months under the spirit of bondage, God was pleased to remove the heavy load, by giving him the spirit of adoption, enabling him, through a living faith, to lay hold on the Son of his love.

His bodily health being now restored, his soul was likewise filled with peace and joy in believing on the Son of God. This joy was so great for some time, that go where he would, he could not help praising God continually in his heart, and with some difficulty restrained himself from doing it aloud. As he was urged to go into the country for confirming his health, he returned to his native air at Gloucester, where (his mind being now happily enlightened) he preferred the sacred writings to all other books, and read them with fervent prayer; in the study of which, he found unspeakable profit and delight. But inclination conspired with duty, to hinder him from confining his religion to himself: having a heart formed for society and friendship, he could not think of shutting himself up in the closet; but made it his business to converse with young persons, about his own time of life, in order to awaken them to a sense of religion. God was pleased soon to give success to his endeavours this way, for several of them joined with him, and notwithstanding the contempt they knew it would bring upon them, met together from time to time for religious exercises. He also read to some poor people in the town, twice or thrice a week, and read and prayed with the prisoners in the county goal every day.

Being now about twenty-one years of age, he was sent for by Dr. Benson, bishop of Gloucester; who told him, that though he had purposed to ordain none under twenty-three, yet he should reckon it his duty to ordain him whenever he applied. Upon which, at the earnest request of his friends he prepared for taking orders.

His behaviour was very examplary. He first studied the thirty-nine articles, that he might be satisfied of their being agreeable to scripture. Then he examined himself by the qualification of a minister mentioned in the New Testament, and by the questions that he knew were to be put at the ordination. On the Saturday, he was much in prayer for himself, and those who were to be ordained with him. On the morning of his ordination, (which was at Gloucester, Sunday, June 20, 1736) he rose early, and again read, with prayer, St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy; and after his ordination, went to the Lord's Table.

The Sunday following he preached his sermon on "*The Necessity and Benefit of Religious Society*," to a very crowded auditory, in the church where he was baptised. His own remark on this was: "last Sunday in the afternoon, I preached my first sermon in the church where I was baptised, and also first received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Curiosity drew a large congregation together. The sight, at first, a little awed me; but I was comforted with a heart-felt sense of the divine presence, and soon found the advantage of having been accustomed to public speaking when a boy at school; and of exhorting and teaching the prisoners, and poor people at their private houses, whilst at the University. By these means, I was kept from being daunted over much. As I proceeded, I perceived the fire kindled, till at last, though so young, and amidst a crowd of those who knew me in my childish days, I trust I was enabled to speak with some degree

of gospel authority. Some few mocked, but most for the present seemed struck; and I have since heard, that a complaint had been made to the bishop, that I drove fifteen mad, the first sermon; the worthy prelate, as I am informed, wished that the madness might not be forgotten before next Sunday."

The week following he set out for Oxford, whither he inclined to go, rather than to the parish which the bishop would have given him, and took his bachelor's degree. And here he found full employment in taking care of the prisoners and the poor.

But it was not long before he was invited to London, to serve the cure of a friend going into the country. He continued there two months, lodging in the Tower, reading prayers in the chapel twice a week, catechising and preaching once, daily visiting the soldiers in the barracks and infirmary. He also read prayers every evening at Wapping chapel, and preached at Judgate Prison every Tuesday. The first time he preached in London was August 1736, at Bishopsgate church. Having a very young look, the people were surprized at his appearance, and seemed to sneer as he went up to the pulpit; but they had not heard him long, when their contempt was turned into esteem, and their smiles into grave attention.

About this time, letters came from Messrs. Wesleys and Ingham, at Georgia, which made him long to go and help them. But not seeing his call clear, at the appointed time, he returned to Oxford, where several youths met daily at his room, to build up each other in their *most holy faith.* With these he enjoyed much pleasure; and in reading Matthew Henry's commentary on the Bible, great benefit.

In November 1736, he was again called from Oxford, to minister at Dummer in Hampshire. This was a new sphere of action, among poor illiterate people; but he

was soon reconciled to it, and thought he reaped no small profit by conversing with them. Here he read prayers twice a day, early in the morning, and in the evening: he also daily catechized the children, and visited from house to house. He now divided the day into three parts, allotting eight hours for sleep and meals, eight for study and retirement, and eight for reading prayers, catechizing, and visiting the people. During his stay here, he was invited to a very profitable curacy in London, but did not accept of it, as his mind still ran on going abroad.

Providence, at length, seemed to open a door to him: for he received letters, containing what he thought to be an invitation to go to Georgia, from Mr. John Wesley, whose brother came over to procure more labourers. He readily embraced this proposal, thinking himself called; and having set his affairs in order, in January, 1737, went to take leave of his friends in Gloucester and Bristol.

It was in this journey, that God began to bless his ministry in an uncommon manner. Wherever he preached, amazing multitudes flocked together, in Gloucester, Stonehouse, Bath, Bristol; so that the heat of the churches was scarce supportable: and the impressions made on the minds of many were no less extraordinary. But he did not stay long at any of these places, being obliged to go to Oxford, about the latter end of February, from whence he came up to London, to wait upon general Oglethorpe, and the trustees of Georgia. He was soon introduced to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, who both approved of his going abroad.

While he continued in London, waiting for general Oglethorpe, it pleased God to bless his word still more; he was indefatigable in his labours, generally preaching four times on a Sunday to exceeding large auditories,

besides reading prayers twice or thrice, and walking ten or twelve miles. But finding that the general would not sail for some time, and being under particular obligations to the Rev. Mr. Sampson Harris, minister at Stonehouse, in Gloucestershire, he went, at his request, to supply his charge, while he dispatched some affairs in London. There he was happy in his public ministrations; but especially in his retirements; which he used after to reflect upon with great satisfaction.

On Mr. Harris's return to Stonehouse, he, upon repeated invitations, went a second time to Bristol, where he preached about five times a week. Here the multitude of his hearers still increased.* He was attended by persons of all ranks and denominations—private religious societies were formed—collections for the poor prisoners in Newgate made twice or thrice a week—and large encouragement was offered to him, if he would not go abroad. During his stay at Bristol, which was from the end of May, to the 21st of June, he paid a second visit to Bath, where the people crowded, and were seriously affected, as at Bristol; and £160 was collected for the poor of Georgia.

June 21, he preached his farewell sermon at Bristol, and toward the end of the discourse, when he came to tell them—"it might be they would see him no more," the whole congregation was exceedingly affected; high and low, young and old, burst into a flood of tears. Multitudes after sermon, followed him home weeping; and the next day he was employed from seven in the morning till midnight, in talking and giving advice to those who came to him about the concern of their souls and salvation.

* "Some hung upon the rails, others climbed up the leads of the church, and altogether made the church itself so hot, with their breath, that the steam would fall from the pillars like drops of rain." LETTER XXI.

From Bristol he went to Gloucester, and preached to a very crowded auditory: and after staying a few days, went to Oxford, from thence he came to London, about the end of August. Here he was invited to preach and assist in administering the Lord's Supper, in a great many churches. The congregations continually increased.—His friends began to be afraid that he would hurt himself; but he used to say, "he found, by experience, the more he did, the more he might do for God."

Mr. Whitefield being now very popular, his name was put into different newspapers, (though without his consent or knowledge) as a young gentleman going volunteer to Georgia, who was going to preach before the societies at their general quarterly meeting. This stirred up the people's curiosity more and more. He preached on that occasion his sermon on *Early Piety*, which was printed at the request of the societies. After this for near three months successively, there was no end of people's flocking to hear him; and the managers of the charity-schools were continually applying to him to preach for the benefit of the children; procuring the largest churches for that purpose on other days of the week, besides the Lord's day; and yet thousands went away, not being able to get in. The congregations were all attention, and seemed to hear for eternity. He preached generally nine times a week, and often administered the sacrament early in the morning on the Lord's day; when you might see the streets filled with people going to church with lanthorns in their hands, and hear them converse about the things of God.*

* One Lord's-day morning, at the early sacrament, Mr. Whitefield, with his usual fervor, exhorted his hearers to give up the use of the means for the spiritual good of their relations and friends *only with their lives;* and remarked that he had had a brother, for whose spiritual welfare he had used every means: he had warned him and prayed for him; and, apparently, to no purpose, till a few weeks back, when this

As his popularity increased, opposition increased proportionably. Some of the clergy became angry: two of them sent for him, and told him, he should not preach in their pulpits any more, unless he renounced that part of the preface of his sermon on *Regeneration*, (lately published), wherein he wished, "that his brethren would entertain their auditors oftener with discourses upon the new-birth." Probably some of them were irritated the more, by his free conversation with serious dissenters, who often invited him to their houses, and repeatedly told him, "that if the doctrine of the new-birth, and justification by faith, were preached powerfully in the churches, there would be few dissenters in England."

Nor was he without opposition even from some of his friends. But under these discouragements, he had great comfort in meeting every evening with a band of religious intimates, to spend an hour in prayer for the spread of the gospel. And sometimes at midnight, after he had been quite wearied with the labours of the day, he has found his strength renewed in this exercise, which made him compose his sermon upon *Intercession*.

The nearer the time of his embarkation approached, the more affectionate and eager the people grew: thousands and thousands of prayers were put up for him.

brother to his astonishment and joy, came to his house, and with many tears, declared, that he came up from the country to testify to him the great change that divine grace had wrought upon his heart; and to acknowledge with gratitude his obligation to the man whom God had made the instrument of it. Mr. Whitefield added, that he had that morning received a letter, which informed him, that on his brother's return to Gloucestershire, where he resided, he dropped down dead as he was getting out of the stage; but that he had previously given the most unequivocal evidence of his being a new man in Christ Jesus. "Wherefore," said this great preacher of righteousness, "let us pray always for ourselves and for those who are dear to us, and never faint." *See an account of Mr. Henry Lane, in the Evangelical Magazine, for May* 1806, *page* 222.

They would run and stop him in the aisles of the churches, and follow him with wishful looks: but above all, it was hardest for him to part with his weeping friends at St. Dunstan's, where he helped to administer the sacrament to them, after spending the night before in prayer. This was to him almost insupportable.

CHAP. III.

From the time of his embarking for Georgia, to his re-embarking for England, 1738.

IN the latter end of December, 1737, he embarked for Georgia. This was to him a new, and at first appearance, a very unpromising scene. The ship was full of soldiers, and there were near twenty women among them. The captain of the ship, and the officers of the regiment, with the surgeon, and a young cadet, gave him to understand, that they looked upon him as an impostor; and for awhile treated him as such. The first Lord's-day one of them played on the hautboy, and nothing was to be seen but cards; and little heard, but cursing and blasphemy. This was a very disagreeable situation; but it is worth while to observe, with what prudence he was enabled to behave among them; and how God was pleased to bless his patient and persevering endeavours to do them good.

He began with the officers in the cabin, in the way of mild and gentle reproof; but this had little effect.*

* "I could do no more for a season, than whilst I was writing, now and then to turn my head, by way of reproof, to a lieutenant of the soldiers, who swore, as though he was

He therefore tried what might be done between decks, among the soldiers. And though the place was not very commodious, he read prayers, and expounded twice a day. At first he could not see any fruit of his labour, yet it was encouraging to find it so kindly received by his new red coat parishioners, (as he calls them) many of whom submitted chearfully to be catechized about the lessons they had heard expounded.

In this situation things continued for some time. But all this while, he had no place for retirement; and there was no divine service in the great cabin, both which he greatly desired. At last he obtained his wish: one day finding the ship captain a little inclined to favour him, he asked him to suffer him now and then to retire into the round-house, where the captain slept, and offered him money for the loan of it. The captain would not take the money, but readily granted his request. Soon afterwards, the military captain, having invited him to a dish of coffee, he took the liberty to tell him, "that though he was a volunteer on board, yet as he was on board, he looked upon himself as his chaplain, and as such, he thought it a little odd to pray and preach to the servants, and not to the master;" and added, "that if he thought proper, he would make use of a short collect now and then to him, and the other gentlemen in the great cabin." After pausing awhile, and shaking his head, he answered, "I think we may, when we have nothing else to do." This awkward hint was all he got for the present; yet he was encouraged thereby to hope, that the desired point would be soon gained.

They were detained in the Downs by contrary winds for near a month; the soldiers, by this time, became more and more civilized, and the people at Deal heard him gladly. There he preached thrice, at the invitation

born of a swearing constitution: Sometimes he would take the hint, return my nod, with a 'doctor, I ask your pardon;' and then to his cards and swearing again." M.S.

of the ministers; and often expounded in the house where he lodged. This work was very delightful to him; but he was suddenly called away by a fair wind, about the end of January, 1738, just after he had preached in Upper Deal church.

Being again on board, he was much comforted with the hope of doing good in the great cabin. Having no better place, he generally every night retired with his friend the honorable Mr. Habersham, and his brother, and two servants, behind the round-house, for prayer and other religious exercises; sometimes he perceived captain Whiting was hearkening within. One day, finding on the captain's pillow, *The Independent Whig*, he exchanged it for a book entitled, *The Self Deceiver*. Next morning, the captain came smiling, and enquired who made the exchange. Mr. Whitefield confessed the charge, and begged his acceptance of the book, which he said he had read, and liked very well. From thence-forward, a visible alteration was seen in him. The other captain also, about the same time, met him as he was coming from between decks, and desired, "that they might have public service, and expounding twice a day." In April following, he thus mentions the happy effect of their very slow passage:—"Blessed be God, we now live very comfortably in the great cabin. We talk of little else but God and Christ; and scarce a word is heard among us, when together, but what has reference to our fall in the first, and our new birth in the second Adam."

In about a fortnight, they reached Gibraltar, whither they were bound to take in more soldiers. There, a major Sinclair had been so kind as to provide a lodging for him unasked, who, with the other military gentlemen, even governor Sabine, and general Columbine, received him most courteously. Being apprehensive, that at a public military table, he might be more than hospitably

entertained ; by way of prevention, he begged leave to remind his excellency of an observation made in the book of Esther, on the court of the great Ahasuerus—" that none did compel." He took the hint, and genteely replied, " that no compulsion of any kind should be used at his table." And every thing was carried on with great decorum. The officers attended at public worship with order and gravity ; the minister also behaved with great civility ; and all concurred to give him invitations to preach, which he did twice or thrice in a week ;* and in the evenings and mornings, when not on board, he expounded, conversed, and prayed with a religious society of soldiers, who had liberty from the governor to assemble at any time in the church. His evening expositions were attended, not only by the soldiers, but by officers, ministers, and town's-people ; and, from all that could be judged, his labours were not without the divine blessing.

Finding another society of religious soldiers there, belonging to the church of Scotland, he sent them as well as the former, some proper books—talked with several of them, and endeavoured to unite both societies together ; urging in them the necessity of a catholic, disinterested love, and of joining in prayer for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom. This exhortation also, by the blessing of God, had a good effect ; and two or three of the latter society, being drafted out for Georgia, desired leave to go into the ship with Mr. Whitefield, which was readily allowed them.

* " Strange and unusual was the scene, both with respect to the place and people. The adjacent promontories, and the largeness of the rock of Gibraltar, helped me to enlarge my ideas of Him, who in his strength setteth fast the mountains, and is girded about with power. And the place being, as it were, a public rendezvous for all nations, I thought I saw the world in epitome." M.S.

Before the embarkation of the soldiers, by the general's consent, he gave them a parting discourse in the church: and afterwards, from time to time, as the weather permitted, he preached to them on board their respective ships. Colonel Cochran who commanded, was extremely civil; and soon after setting sail, there was such a change in captain Mackay, that he desired Mr. Whitefield would not give himself the trouble of expounding and praying in the cabin, and between decks, for he would order a drum to beat morning and evening, and himself would attend with the soldiers on the deck. This produced a very agreeable alteration—they were now as regular as in a church. Mr. Whitefield preached with a captain on each side of him, and soldiers all around; and the two other ships' companies, being now in the trade winds, drew near and joined in the worship of God. The great cabin now became a *Bethel*—both captains were daily more and more affected—a crucified Saviour, and the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, were the usual topics of their conversation. Once, after sermon, captain Mackey desired the soldiers to stop, whilst he informed them, that to his great shame, he had been a notorious swearer, but by the instrumentality of Mr. Whitefield's preaching, he had now left it off—and exhorted them, for Christ's sake, to go and do likewise. The children were catechised, and there was a reformation throughout the whole soldiery. The women cried, "what a change in our captain!" The bad books and packs of cards, which Mr. Whitefield exchanged for bibles and other religious books, (abundance of which were given him to disperse by the *Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*) were now thrown overboard; and a fever, that prevailed in general through the whole ship helped to make the impressions sink deeper. For many days and nights he visited betwixt twenty and thirty sick persons, crawling between decks upon his

knees, administering medicines or cordials to them, and such advice as seemed suitable to their circumstances. The sailors did not escape the fever; and captain Whiting gladly went with him to visit them. One of them, in particular, who had been a most notorious scoffer, sent for him in a bitter agony, crying out upon and lamenting his wicked life. The cadet who was a cabin passenger, being also seized, was wounded deeply—told Mr. Whitefield the history of his life, and informed captain Mackay of his desire to leave the army, and to return to his original intention (having had a university education) of devoting himself to the service of God. Mr. Whitefield was also himself seized, but through the divine blessing recovered, and was soon able to perform the burial service over the ship's cook, who had lately said, "he would be wicked till two years before he died, and then he would be good." But, alas! this boaster was cut off in about six hours. They landed the beginning of May 1738. After preaching his farewell sermon, he arrived at Savannah on the 7th of that month.

Upon this voyage (many years after) he made the following reflection:—"A long, and I trust, not altogether unprofitable voyage. What shall I render to the Lord for all his mercies? Besides being strengthened to go through my public work, I was enabled to write letters, and compose sermons, as though I had been on land. Even at this distance of time, the remembrance of the happy hours I enjoyed in religious exercises on the deck, is refreshing to my soul, and though nature sometimes relented at being taken from my friends, and little accustomed to the inconvenience of a sea life; yet, a consciousness that I had in view the glory of God, and the good of souls, from time to time, afforded me unspeakable satisfaction."

One Mr. Delamot, whom Mr. John Wesley* had left as a school master at Savannah, received Mr. Whitefield

* The Rev. John Wesley was of the inferior size, his visage marked with intelligence, singularly neat and plain in his dress, a little cast in his eye, observable on particular occasions; upright, graceful, and remarkably active. His understanding, naturally excellent and acute, was highly stored with the attainments of literature: and he possessed a fund of anecdote and history, that rendered his company as entertaining as instructive. His mode of address in public was chaste and solemn, though not illumined with those coruscations of eloquence, which marked, if I may use that expression, the discourses of his rival George Whitefield; but there was a divine simplicity, a zeal, a venerableness in his manner, which commanded attention, and never forsook him in his latest years; when at fourscore he retained still all the liveliness of vigorous old age. His health was remarkably preserved amidst a scene of labour and perpetual exertions of mind and body, to which few would have been equal. Never man possessed greater personal influence over the people connected with him. Nor was it an easy task to direct so vast a machine, where, amidst so many hundred wheels in motion, some moved eccentrically, and hardly yielded to the impulse of the main spring. I need not speak of the exemplariness of his life, too many eyes were upon him to admit of his halting; nor could his weight have been maintained a moment longer, than the fullest conviction impressed his people, that he was an eminently favoured saint of God, and as distinguished for his holy walk, as for his vast abilities, indefatigable labour, and singular usefulness.

His enemies reviled him, and would, if possible, rob him of the meed of well deserved honour, by imputing to him objects below the prize he had in view. Never was a more disinterested character; but he was a man, and he must have been more than man, if, with the consciousness of his own devotedness, the divine blessing on his labours, and the high admiration, in which he was held by his followers, he had not sometimes thought of himself more highly than he ought to think. We exhibit no faultless monsters. Elias was a man of like passions as ourselves. Mr. Wesley is gone to give an account of himself to his proper Judge, by whom I doubt not all his iniquity is pardoned, and his infirmities covered. And now that envy and enmity have been some time laid asleep in his grave, I rejoice in observing his character, rise in general estimation, and most highly respected by those who knew him; but, it will now hardly be a question with any man, whether he would not rather have been John Wesley, who died worth ten pounds, than Lavington, bishop of Exeter, who so bitterly reviled him.

at the parsonage-house, which he found much better than he expected. Having met some of Mr. Wesley's converts here, he on the morrow read prayers, expounded in the court-house, and waited on the magistrates; but being taken ill of an ague and fever, he was confined for a week.

When he recovered, he found every part bore the aspect of an infant colony; and, what was more discouraging still, it appeared likely to continue so, by the nature of its constitution. "The people (says he) were denied the use of both rum and slaves. The lands were allotted them according to a particular plan, whether good or bad; and the female heirs prohibited from inheriting. So that in reality, to place people there on such a footing, was little better than to tie their legs, and bid them walk. The scheme was well meant at home; but, as too many years experience evidently proved, was absolutely impracticable in so hot a country abroad. However, that rendered what I had brought over from my friends, more acceptable to the poor inhabitants; and gave me an occular demonstration, which was what I wanted, when the hint was given*

As a man, as a christian, as a minister, we shall not I fear, look upon his like again speedily. After passing through evil report and good report, during more than sixty years of incessant labour, he entered into his rest in the 87th year of his age. Whatever ignorance of his real character, the fatuity of prejudice, or the insolence of pride may have suggested, the day is coming, when his great and adorable Master will condemn every tongue that hath risen up in judgment against him, and say in the presence of men and angels, "Well done good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!"——*See an impartial and succinct History of the Church of Christ, &c. Vol. III. page 274. By the Rev. T. Haweis, LL.B. and M. D. Rector of all Saints, Aldwinckle, Northamptonshire; Chaplain to the late Countess Dowager of Huntingdon; and Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Peterborough.*

* "It was first proposed to me by my dear friend, Mr. Charles Wesley, who, with general Oglethorpe, had concerted a scheme for carrying on such a design, before I had any thought of going abroad myself."

of the great necessity and promising utility of a future orphan-house, which I now determined, by the divine assistance, to get about in earnest. The Saltzburghers, at Ebenezer, I found had one; and having heard and read of what professor Franck had done in that way in Germany, I confidently hoped that something of the like nature might be owned, and succeed in Georgia. Many poor orphans were there already, and the number was likely soon to be increased. As opportunity offered, I visited Frederica, and the adjacent villages, and often admired, considering the circumstances and disposition of the first settlers, that so much was really done. The settlers were chiefly broken and decayed tradesmen from London and other parts of England, and several Scotch adventurers, (highlanders) who had a worthy minister, named Macleod; a few Moravians, and the Saltzburghers, who were by far the most industrious of the whole. With the worthy ministers of Ebenezer, messieurs Grenaw and Bolkius, I contracted an intimacy. Many praying people were in the congregation, which with the consideration that so many charitable people in England had been stirred up to contribute to Georgia, and such faithful labourers as messieurs Wesleys and Ingham had been sent, gave me great hopes, that, unpromising as the aspect might be, the colony might emerge in time out of its infant state. Some small advances Mr. Ingham had made towards converting the Indians, who were at a small settlement about four miles from Savannah. He went and lived among them for a few months, and began to compose an Indian grammar; but he was soon called away to England; and the Indians, (who were only some run-a-way Creeks) were in a few years scattered or dead. Mr. Charles Wesley had chiefly acted as secretary to general Oglethorpe; but he went to England to engage more labourers; and not long after, his brother, Mr. John Wesley, having met with unworthy treatment,

both at Frederica and Georgia, soon followed. All this I was apprized of; but think it most prudent not to repeat grievances. Through divine mercy, I met with respectful treatment from magistrates, officers, and people. The first I visited now and then; the others, besides preaching twice a day, and four times of a Lord's-day, I visited from house to house. I was in general most cordially received; but from time to time found, that, *cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*—though lowered in their circumstances, a sense of what they formerly were in their native country, remained. It was plain to be seen, that coming over was not so much out of choice, as constraint; choosing rather to be poor in an unknown country abroad, than beholden to relations, or live among those who knew them in more affluent circumstances at home. Among some of these, the event, however, proved, that the word took effectual root. I was really happy in my little foreign cure, and could have cheerfully remained among them, had I not been obliged to return to England, to receive priest's orders, and make a beginning towards laying a foundation to the orphan-house. And thus the place I intended to hide myself in, became, through my being obliged to return for these purposes, a mean of encreasing that popularity which was already begun; but which by me, was absolutely unforeseen, and as absolutely undesigned."*

In August, he settled a school-master in an adjacent village; leaving Mr. Habersham at Savannah, and parting affectionately with his flock, he went to South

* "During my stay here, the weather was most intensely hot, sometimes burning me almost through my shoes. Seeing others do it who were as unable, I determined to enure myself to hardships, by lying constantly on the ground, which, by use, I found to be so far from being a hardship, that afterwards it became so to lie in a bed." M. S.

Carolina. At Charlestown, he paid a visit to commissary Garden, and at his entreaty preached the next Sabbath morning and evening, in a grand church resembling one of the new churches in London. The people at first despised his youth; but his engaging address soon gained their general esteem. Mr. Garden thanked him most cordially, and apprized him of the ill treatment Mr. Wesley had met with in Georgia, and assured him, that were the same arbitrary proceedings to commence against him, he would defend him with his life and fortune. He also said something about the colony of Georgia, that much encouraged him, as if he thought its flourishing was not very far off; and that Charlestown was fifteen times bigger now, than when he (Mr. Garden) first came there.

It had been his practice in Georgia, especially at Savannah, to read prayers and expound, and visit the sick, twice a-day. On Sunday he expounded at five in the morning; at ten read prayers and preached, and at three in the afternoon: and at seven in the evening expounded the church catechism. How much easier is it for the clergy in England, Scotland, or Ireland, to find fault with such a faithful brother in the ministry, than to follow his example!

CHAP. IV.

From his embarking at Charlestown for London, to his preaching first at Moorfields, 1739.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1738, Mr. Whitefield again embarked on board a vessel bound from Charlestown to London: they had a perilous voyage for near a fortnight; the ship was much out of repair, and short of provisions. When they were about a third part of their passage, they met with a Jamaica man who had plenty of every thing. He sent for Mr. Whitefield on board, and offered him a most commodious birth; but he did not think it right to leave his ship-mates in distress, and therefore returned to his own ship, with such things as they were pleased to give him. The remaining part of the voyage was still more perilous. The only thing comfortable, was, that in the midst of these trials, deep impressions were made on some that were on board. All constantly attended public worship twice, and some thrice a day. The captain was heard to say, "Lord, break this hard heart of mine!" Others were impressed: particularly captain Gladman, a passenger, on whom a wonderful change was wrought, and afterwards, at his own earnest request, became Mr. Whitefield's fellow-traveller. At length, after nine weeks tossing and beating to and fro, they arrived safe in Limerick harbour. "I wish," says Mr. Whitfield, "I could never forget what I felt, when water and other provisions were brought us from ashore. One Mr. Macmahon, a country gentleman, came from his seat at midnight, on purpose to relieve us, and most

kindly invited me, though unknown, to his house, to stay as long as I pleased."

At Limerick, he was kindly received by bishop Burscough, who engaged him to preach in the Cathedral; the good effects of which, he heard of many years after. From thence he went to Dublin, where he preached, and was entertained most cordially by archbishop Bolton, bishop Rundel, and Dr. Delany. He then sailed for England, and after a passage of twenty-four hours, landed at Parkgate, November 30. Preached at Manchester twice on the Lord's-day, and came to London, on Friday, December 8.

Some of the clergy now began to shew their displeasure more and more; and like the *pharisees* of old, to thrust him out of their synagogues: for in two days time five churches were denied him. He was coldly received by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London. The trustees for the colony of Georgia, received him more cordially—were highly satisfied with his conduct, during his stay in the colony; and at the request (by letter) of the magistrates and inhabitants, they presented him with the living of Savannah: and on his declining to receive any salary, readily granted him five hundred acres of land, whereon to erect an orphan-house; to collect money for which, together with taking priest's orders, were the chief motives of his returning to England so soon.

Near a month elapsed, before a board sat to make him these returns. But during that interval he was not idle. He and his brethren embraced every opportunity of preaching, wherever the churches were open to them.*

* "God gave us a most pleasant gospel Christmas season, and such a happy beginning of a new year, as I had never seen before." M.S. and Journals.

But as the clergy's aversion increased, so did the eagerness of the people to hear. Societies were formed in various parts of the town. A large room in Fetter-lane was the general place of rendezvous, where they had frequent meetings, and great satisfaction in social prayer.* And he and his brethren were so much engaged, that for some days he could walk, and preach, and visit societies, with very little sleep, and religious exercises seemed to be their *meat and drink*.

On Sunday, January 14, 1739, he was ordained priest at Oxford, by his good friend bishop Benson.† Having preached twice to a very crowded congregation, and administered the sacrament at the castle, he returned to London, January 15.

As he had collected so much for the charity-schools last year, he reasonably supposed that the pulpits would

* "It was a pentecost season indeed. Sometimes whole nights were spent in prayer. Often have we been filled as with new wine. And often have I seen them overwhelmed with the divine presence, and cry out, will God, indeed, dwell with men upon earth? How dreadful is this place! This is no other than the house of God, and the gate of heaven!" M.S.

† Shortly after the late countess of Huntingdon was brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus; bishop Benson who had been lord Huntingdon's tutor, was sent for in order to reason with her ladyship respecting her opinions and conduct. But she pressed him so hard with articles and homilies; and so plainly and faithfully urged upon him the awful responsibility of his station under the great head of the church, Jesus Christ, that his temper was ruffled, and he rose up in haste to depart, bitterly lamenting that he had ever laid his hands on George Whitefield, to whom he imputed, though without cause, the change wrought in her ladyship. She called him back; "My lord," said she, "mark my words: when you come upon your dying bed, that will be one of the few ordinations you will reflect upon with complacence." It deserves remark, that bishop Benson, on his dying bed, sent ten guineas to Mr. Whitefield, as a token of his favour and approbation, and begged to be remembered by him in his prayers.

not be denied him for the use the Georgia orphan-house this year. But the religious concern advancing, and spreading more and more, opposition also increased. Pamphlets were published against his sermon *On Regeneration;* pulpits rang with invectives against him; and his brethren, the parish priests, threatened some of their parishioners with prosecutions, for letting him pray and expound in their houses: but all in vain; this only increased their zeal, and strengthened the cause. New awakenings were heard of in various parts; and, "What shall I do to be saved?" was the repeated question of every day.

All the pulpits were not as yet shut up; two or three churches were yet allowed him to preach in, to collect for the orphans of Georgia, and for erecting a church for the poor Saltzburgh refugees, at Ebenezer. The Rev. Mr. Broughton behaved nobly on this occasion. Application being made to him to deny Mr. Whitefield his pulpit, he boldly replied, "having got the lectureship of St. Helen's, by Mr. Whitefield's influence, if he insists upon it, he shall have my pulpit." Mr. Whitefield preached, but (Mr. Broughton losing the lectureship) he blamed himself much for his conduct.

In Bristol he had the use of the churches for two or three Sundays, but soon found they would not be open very long. The dean being absent, the chancellor threatened to suspend him. In about a fortnight every door was shut, except Newgate, where he preached, and collected for the poor prisoners, and where people thronged, and were much impressed; but this also was shut against him, by orders from the mayor.

Before his first embarkation for Georgia, when he talked of going abroad, numbers in Bristol used to reply, "What need of going abroad? Have we not Indians enough at home? If you have a mind to convert Indians, there are colliers enough in Kingswood." And

before he left London, whilst preaching at Bermondsey Church, and seeing so many thousands that could not come in, he had a strong inclination to go out and preach to them upon one of the tomb-stones in the church-yard. This he mentioned to some friends, who looked upon the notion, at first, very unfavourably; yet were willing to take it into farther consideration. At Bristol he thought he had a clear call to try this method. The colliers, he was told, were very numerous; so rude and uncultivated, that none dared to go near them; neither had they any place of worship; and often, when provoked, were a terror to the whole city of Bristol. After much prayer and deliberation, he one day went to Hannam-mount, and like his Saviour, standing on a hill, addressed about one hundred colliers, upon Matt. v. 1, 2, 3.* This soon took air, and the number increased to near TWENTY THOUSAND. The gladnesss and eagerness with which these poor despised outcasts, who had never been in a church in their lives, received the word from his lips, is above description. "Having (as he writes) no righteousness of their own to renounce, they were glad to hear of a Jesus, who was a friend to publicans, and *came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.* The first discovery of their being affected, was to see the white gutters made by their tears, which plentifully fell down their black cheeks, as they came out of their coal pits. Hundreds and hundreds of them were soon brought under deep convictions, which as the event proved, happily ended in a sound and thorough conversion. The change was visible to all, though numbers chose to impute it to any thing, rather than the finger of God. As the scene was

* "I thought (says he) it might be doing the service of my Creator, who had a mountain for his pulpit, and the heavens for his sounding board; and who, when his gospel was refused by the Jews, sent his servants into the highways and hedges." M.S.

new, and I had just began to be an extempore preacher, it often occasioned many inward conflicts. Sometimes when twenty thousand people were before me, I had not, in my own apprehension, a word to say, either to God or them. But I never was totally deserted, and frequently (for to deny it would be lying against God) so assisted, that I knew by happy experience, what our Lord meant by saying, 'out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.' The open firmament above me, the prospect of the adjacent fields, with the sight of thousands and thousands, some in coaches, some on horseback, and some in the trees, and at times all affected and drenched in tears together, to which sometimes was added the solemnity of the approaching evening, was almost too much for, and quite overcame me."

Besides the colliers, thousands of all ranks came from Bristol, by some of whom he was invited to preach in a large bowling-green, in that city. The novelty of the sight caused some to sneer, to see a stripling mount a table on what they termed unconsecrated ground. But God enabled him, unmoved, to preach the gospel of Christ with power and success. From all quarters, people flocked under great concern about their souls. Sometimes he was employed almost from morning to night, giving answer to those who came in great distress, crying out, "*What shall I do to be saved?*" More assistance was wanted; he therefore wrote to Mr. John Wesley, who had never yet been at Bristol, and having received a favorable answer, recommended him and his brother, in the strongest manner, to the people, and earnestly prayed that the last might be first; for he was determined to pursue the scheme of the orphan-house, and return again to his retreat at Georgia.

Mr. Wesley being come, he took an affectionate leave of his friends at Bristol, and made a second excursion to Wales, where an awakening had begun some years

before, by the instrumentality of the Rev. Griffith Jones, and was now carried on by the ministry of Mr. Howel Harris, a man of energetic powers, great zeal, and considerable learning. They met at Cardiff. Travelling together, they preached from town to town, Mr. Whitefield in English, and Mr. Harris afterwards in Welch, to many thousands, meeting with much opposition, and many threats; but were enabled to bear all with patience, and undaunted fortitude.

April 8. From Wales, he went to Gloucestershire. Here a church was allowed him for once or twice, but no more. However, he preached in Boothall, (the place where the judges sit) and in his brother's field to numerous congregations.* His deep concern for the salvation of his countrymen, his relatives and friends, (though labouring under great bodily weakness) caused him to

* At the time of Mr. Whitefield's preaching in Gloucester, old Mr. Cole, a dissenting minister, used to say, "these are the days of the Son of man indeed." This Mr. Cole, Mr. Whitefield, when a boy, was taught to ridicule. And being asked once by one of his congregation, what business he would be of? He said, "A minister; but he would take care never to tell stories in the pulpit like old Cole." About twelve years afterwards, the old man hearing him preach, and tell some story to illustrate the subject he was upon, and having been informed what he had before said, made this remark to one of his elders: "I find that young Whitefield can now tell stories, as well as old Cole." He was much affected with Mr. Whitefield's preaching, and so humble, that he used to subscribe himself his curate; and went about preaching after him in the country, from place to place. But one evening, whilst preaching, he was struck with death, and then asked for a chair to lean on, till he concluded his sermon: when he was carried up stairs he died. Mr. Whitefield's reflection upon this, is,—"O Blessed God! if it be thy holy will, may my exit be like his!"

As to Mr. Whitefield's telling stories in the pulpit, some perhaps may find fault; but, beside, that he had an uncommon fund of passages, proper enough to be thus told, and a peculiar talent of telling them; it was certainly, a mean of drawing multitudes to hear him, who would not have attended to the truths of the gospel delivered in the ordinary manner.

comply with their invitation to preach at Painswick, Cheltenham, Evesham, &c. &c. &c. Wandering thus from place to place, standing at market crosses, in barns, and highways, *conferring not with flesh and blood*, when he might have lived at ease; pressing on through *evil and good report*, and yet he was supported and preserved.

April 21, he again went to Oxford, to visit his methodist friends; and in a few days came to London, where he attempted to preach at Islington church, Mr. Stonehouse, the minister, being a friend to the methodists; but in the midst of the prayers, the church warden came, and forbad his preaching in the pulpit. He might, perhaps, have insisted on his right to preach, yet for peace sake he declined; and after the communion service was over, he preached in the church-yard.

Opportunities of preaching in the churches being now denied him, and his preaching in the fields being attended with a remarkable blessing, he judged it his duty to go on in this practice, and ventured the following Sunday, April 29, into Moorfields. Public notice having been given, and the thing being new and singular, upon coming out of the coach he found an incredible number of people assembled. Many had told him, that he should never come again out of that place alive. He went in, however, between two of his friends, who by the pressure of the crowd were soon parted entirely from him, and were obliged to leave him to the mercy of the rabble. But these, instead of hurting him, formed a lane for him, and carried him along to the middle of the fields, (where a table had been placed, which was broken in pieces by the crowd) and afterwards back again to the wall that then parted the upper and lower Moorfields; from whence he preached without molestation, to an exceeding great multitude in the lower fields. Finding such encouragement, he went that same evening to

Kennington-common, a large open place, near three miles distant from London, where he preached to a vast multitude, who were all attention, and behaved with as much regularity and quietness, as if they had been in a church.

CHAP. V.

From his preaching in Moorfields, &c. to his laying the Foundation of the Orphan-house in Georgia, 1740.

FOR several months after this, Moorfields, Kennington-common, and Blackheath, were the chief scenes of action. At a moderate computation, the auditories often consisted of above TWENTY THOUSAND. It is said, their singing could be heard two miles off, and his voice near a mile. Sometimes there were upwards of a hundred coaches, besides waggons, scaffolds, and other contrivances, which particular persons let out for the convenience of the audience. Having no other method to take, he was obliged to collect for the orphan-house in the fields, or not at all, which was humbling to him and his friends who assisted him in that work. But the willingness with which the people gave, and the prayers which they put up upon throwing in their mites, were very encouraging. In the mean while Mr. John Wesley was labouring with great zeal at Bristol, and his brother, Mr. Charles, in London and elsewhere; Mr. Ingham had been preaching in many churches of Yorkshire, Mr. Kinchin in Oxford, and Mr. Rogers in Bedfordshire. Thus the seed sown was gradually increased, and the embargo which was now laid on the shipping, gave him

leisure for more journeys through various parts of England; and God was pleased to crown his labours with amazing success.

Some demur happening in Bristol, he went there for a few days, put Mr. John Wesley (who had now made progress in building the Kingswood school, and also had begun a room at Bristol) in full power, and took him along with him, and introduced him as a field preacher at Gloucester and other places. Every where the word seemed to sink deeper and deeper into the hearts of the hearers. Singing and praying were heard in Kingswood, instead of cursing and swearing; and in many other places the fruits of righteousness evidently appeared.

Many false reports were now spread abroad concerning him. Not a journey he could make, but he was either killed or wounded, or died suddenly. One groundless fiction was continually invented after another, and the bishop of London laid hold of this occasion for publishing a charge to his clergy to avoid the extremes of enthusiasm and lukewarmness. But amidst these discouragements, he was not left without the countenance and friendship of several persons of influence.

The embargo being taken off, and upwards of a THOUSAND POUNDS collected for the orphan-house, he sailed the second time for America, August 14, 1739, with a family consisting of eight men, one boy, and two children, besides his friend Mr. Seward.

After a passage of nine weeks, he arrived at Philadelphia in the beginning of November, and was immediately invited to preach in the churches, to which people of all denominations thronged as in England.*

* The effects produced in Philadelphia at this time by the preaching of Mr. Whitefield, were truly astonishing. Numbers of almost all religious denominations, and many who had no connection with any denomination, were brought to inquire, with

From thence he was invited to New York, by Mr. Noble, the only person with whom he had an acquaintance in that city. Upon his arrival, they waited on the commissary; but he refused him the use of his church. Mr. Whitefield, therefore, preached in the fields, and on the evening of the same day, to a very thronged and attentive audience in the Rev. Mr. Pemberton's meeting-house; and continued to do so twice or thrice a day for above a week, with apparent success

On his way to and from Philadelphia, he also preached at Elizabeth-town, Maidenhead, Abingdon, Nerhaminy, Burlington, and New Brunswick, in the New Jerseys, to some thousands gathered from various parts, among whom there had been a considerable awakening, by the instrumentality of a Mr. Freelinghausen, a Dutch minister, and the Messrs. Tennents, Blair, and Rowland.* He had also the pleasure of meeting with the venerable

with the utmost earnestness, what they should do to be saved. Such was the eagerness of the multitude to listen to spiritual instruction, that there was public worship regularly twice a day for a year; and on the Lord's-day it was celebrated generally thrice, and frequently four times. An aged man, deeply interested in the scenes which then were witnessed, and who is still living, has informed the writer, that the city (not then probably a third so large as it now is) contained TWENTY-SIX societies for social prayer and religious conferences; and probably there were others not known to him."—*Memoirs of Mrs. Hannah Hodge, published at Philadelphia,* 1806.

* This truly pious and eloquent man, being invited to preach in the Baptist church, proclaimed the terrors of the divine law with such energy to those whose souls were already sinking under them, that a few fainted away. On this occasion, however, his error was publicly corrected by the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, who, standing at the foot of the pulpit, and seeing the effect produced on the assembly, interrupted and arrested the preacher by this address:—'Brother Rowland, is their no balm in Gilead?—is there no Physician there?' Mr. Rowland, on this, changed immediately the terror of his address, and sought to direct to the Saviour, those who were overwhelmed with a sense of their guilt: but, before this had taken place, numbers were carried out of the church in a state of insensibility." Ibid.

Mr. Tennent as well as his sons, and with Mr. Dickinson.* It was no less pleasing than strange to him, to see such gatherings in a foreign land; ministers and people shedding tears; sinners struck with awe; and serious persons, who had been much run down and despised, filled with joy. Meantime the orphan-house affairs went on well. The cargo brought from England, was sold for their benefit. A vessel was purchased, of which captain Gladman was master; and a young man, who had lately received serious impressions under Mr. Whitefield's preaching, willingly offered himself as mate. Many little presents were made to his family for sea stores, and the intended house. And about the end of November, he took his leave of his family, and ordered them to proceed on their voyage to Savannah, while himself, with Mr. Seward, and two more determined to go thither by land.

Numbers followed, some twenty, some sixty miles out from Philadelphia. Travelling through Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, New York, and back again to Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, preaching all along

* "Mr. Tennent, and his brethren, in presbytery, intend breeding up gracious youths for our Lord's vineyard. The place wherein the young men study now, is a log-house, about twenty feet long, and near as many broad. From this despised place, seven or eight worthy ministers of Jesus have been sent forth, and a foundation is now laying for the instruction of many others. The work, I am persuaded, is of God, and therefore will not come to nought."—*Journals, November 22, 1739.*

The event has verified his judgment about this institution. It is now a large college at Princetown, in New Jersey: and has already had many worthy presidents (some of whose names are well known in the learned world) such as Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Burr, Dr. Jonathan Edwards, Dr. Samuel Davies, Dr. S. Finley, Dr. Witherspoon, and at present Dr. Samuel S. Smith, by whose abilities, care, and activity, it is, under Providence, in a very flourishing condition.

Dr. Witherspoon died on the 15th day of November, 1794, in the 73d year of his age. And the Rev. Dr. Smith was unanimously chosen his successor, May 6, 1795.

to immense congregations, he at length arrived on January 11, 1740, at his beloved Savannah.

On his arrival at Savannah, he was very happy to meet his family, who had got there three weeks before him; and to find by letters from England, New York, &c. that the work of God prospered. But it was a melancholy thing to see the colony of Georgia reduced even to a much lower ebb than when he left it, and almost deserted by all but such as could not well go away. Employing these, therefore, he thought would be of singular service, and the money expended, might be also a means of keeping them in the colony.

Before his arrival, Mr. Habersham had pitched upon a plot of ground for the orphan-house, of five hundred acres, about ten miles from Savannah, and had already begun to clear and stock it, the orphans being accommodated in a hired house.

The first collection he made in America, was at the Rev. Mr. Smith's meeting-house in Charlestown, whither he went about the middle of March, to see his brother, the captain of a ship from England. He was desired by some of the inhabitants, to speak in behalf of the poor orphans; and the collection amounted to seventy pounds sterling.

Having returned to Savannah, he went to the spot of ground, where he intended the orphan-house should be built, and upon the 25th of March, 1740, laid the first brick of the great house, naming it BETHESDA, i. e. *a house of mercy*. By this time, near forty children were taken in, to be provided with food and raiment; and counting the workmen and all, he had near a hundred to be daily fed. He had but very little money in bank; and yet he was not discouraged, being persuaded that the best thing he could do at present for the infant colony was, to carry on the work. Long after this he writes,

"Blessed be God, I have not been disappointed in the hope, that it would be a house of mercy to many, both in respect to body and soul."*

CHAP. VI.

From his laying the Foundation of his Orphan-house in Georgia, to his arrival in England, 1741.

MR. WHITEFIELD again set off in a sloop for New-castle, in Pennsylvania, where he arrived in ten days, extremely weak in body, and his spirits much depressed; yet, as he afterwards observed, Providence was infinitely better to him than his fears, and exceeded his most sanguine expectations; for his strength was surprisingly increased, insomuch, that during the space of two months, he was enabled to preach two or three times a day.

At Philadelphia, the churches were now denied him. He therefore preached in the fields, and large collections were made for the orphan-house—once, one hundred and ten pounds sterling. Societies for praying and singing were set on foot, and in every part of the town, many were concerned about their salvation.† "Many Negroes

* M.S.

† A church was formed by the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, out of those who were denominated the followers and converts of Mr. Whitefield. No less than 140 individuals were received at first, after a strict examination, as members of this newly constituted church. The admission of a large number more was delayed, only because their exercices and spiritual state had not yet attained such maturity as to afford satisfaction to themselves, or to the officers of the church.—*See Memoirs of Mrs. H. Hodge.*

come," says Mr. Whitefield, "some enquiring, have I a soul?"

At New York, New Bruswick, Staten Island, Baskenridge, Whitely Creek, Frogo Maner, Reedy Island, there was great concern upon the mind both of the preacher and hearers.

Sometimes he was almost dead with heat and fatigue. Thrice a day he was lifted up upon his horse, unable to mount otherwise; then rode and preached, and came in and laid himself along upon two or three chairs. He did not doubt but such a course would soon take him to his desired rest. Yet he had many delightful hours with Messrs. Tennents, Blair, &c. "Night," says he, "was as it were turned into day, when we rode singing through the woods. I could not help recommending these men, wherever I went, in the strongest manner, because I saw they gloried in the cross of Christ."

In a Journal written by Mr. William Seward, (Mr. Whitefield's companion in travelling) we have the following particulars belonging to this period.

"April 9, 1740. Mr. Whitefield proposed my going to England upon several important affairs, particularly to bring over Mr. Hutchins to take care of the orphan-house in his absence—to acquaint the trustees of Georgia with the state of the colony, and the means under God, for the better establishment thereof, it being now upheld almost wholly by the soldiery and orphan-house, most of the people who are unconcerned in either, being gone or going. The proper means are principally three, 1. An allowance of negroes. 2. A free title to the lands. 3. An independent magistracy, viz. such as are able and willing to serve without fee or reward. My business with the trustees will be farther, to bring over the money lodged in their hands for building the church at Savannah. I am, moreover, to collect subscriptions for a negro school in Pennsylvania, where Mr. Whitefield proposes to take

up land, in order to settle a town for the reception of such English friends, whose hearts God shall incline to come and settle there."

"April 13. Mr. Tennent informed us of the great success which had attended Mr. Whitefield's preaching, when here last. For some time a general silence was fixed by the Lord on the people's minds, and many began seriously to think on what foundation they stood. A general outward reformation has been visible. Many ministers have been quickened in their zeal to preach the word in season and out of season. Congregations are increased, and some few, it is hoped, will be brought through their convictions, into a sound and saving conversion."

"April 14. Mr. Jones, the Baptist minister, told us of two other ministers, Mr. Treat, and Mr. Morgan, who were so affected with Mr. Whitefield's spirit, that the latter had gone forth preaching the glad tidings of salvation towards the sea-coast in the Jerseys, and many other places which lay in darkness and the shadow of death. The former told his congregation, that he had been hitherto deceiving himself and them, and he could not preach to them at present, but desired they would join in prayer with him."

"April 15. We were informed that an Indian trader was so affected with Mr. Whitefield's doctrine, that he is gone to teach the Indians, with whom he used to trade."

"April 18. This day was published, Mr. Whitefield's Letter to the Inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, about their abuse of the poor Negroes."*

"Heard of a drinking club that had a negro boy attending them, who used to mimic people for their di-

* See his Works, Vol. iv.

version. The gentlemen bid him mimic Mr. Whitefield, which he was very unwilling to do; but they insisted upon it, he stood up and said, '*I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not; unless you repent, you will all be damned.*'—This unexpected speech broke up the club, which has not met since."

"———— Notice was given of a new lecture at German Town every Thursday, by four ministers."

"April 22. Agreed with Mr. Allen for five thousand acres of land on the forks of Delaware, at £2,200 sterling, the conveyance to be made to Mr. Whitefield, and after that assigned to me, as security for my advancing the money.—Mr. Whitefield proposes to give orders for building the negro-school on the purchased land, before he leaves the province."

"April 24. Came to Christopher Wigner's plantation in Skippack, where many Dutch people are settled, and where the famous Mr. Spalemburg resided lately. It was surprising to see such a multitude of people gathered together in such a wilderness country, thirty miles distant from Philadelphia.—Mr. Whitefield was exceedingly carried out in his sermon, to press poor sinners to come to Christ by faith, and claim all their privileges; viz. not only righteousness and peace, but joy in the Holy Ghost: and after he had done, our dear friend, Peter Bohler preached in Dutch, to those who could not understand Mr. Whitefield in English."

"Before Mr. Whitefield left Philadelphia, he was desired to visit one who was under a deep sense of sin, from hearing him preach. And in praying with this person, he was so carried beyond himself, that the whole company (which were about twenty) seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and magnified the God of heaven."

"April 25. Rose at three o'clock: and though Mr. Whitefield was very weak in body, yet the Lord enabled

him to ride near fifty miles, and to preach to about five thousand people at Amwell, with the same power as usual.—Mr. Gilbert Tennent, Mr. Rowland, Mr. Wales, and Mr. Campbell, four godly ministers, met us here."

"April 26. Came to New Brunswick.—Met Mr. Noble from New York, a zealous promoter of our Lord's kingdom. He said their society at New York was increased from seventy, to one hundred and seventy, and was daily increasing; and that Messrs. Gilbert and William Tennent, Mr. Rowland, and several others, were hard labourers in our Lord's vine-yard."

"April 28. Had a most affectionate parting with our dear Mr. Whitefield, and our other brethren."

The rest of Mr Seward's journal was written mostly during his passage to England, where he arrived June 19, and with which it concludes. Mr. Whitefield, in the new edition of his Journals, 1756, observes, "April 28, 1740. This was the last time I saw my worthy friend; for before my return to England, he was entered into his rest, having left behind, a glorious testimony of the transforming efficacy of everlasting grace. This hath also been the happy case of his brother Benjamin, who lately finished his course with joy."

With great joy Mr. Whitefield again arrived at Savannah, June 5, bringing in money and provisions more than five hundred pounds sterling: and to his great encouragement the minds of many were wonderfully impressed, and there evidently appeared the strongest marks of the divine blessing on the undertaking. His family was now increased to one hundred and fifty, and his friends believing the work to be of God, continued chearfully to assist him.

Though he was now very weak in body, yet the cry from various quarters for more preaching, and the necessity of supplying so large a family, made him go again to Charlestown, where, as well as at many other

towns, the people thronged. Charlestown was the place of his *greatest success*, and of the *greatest opposition*. The commissary thundered anathemas, and wrote against him, but all in vain; for his followers and success still more and more increased. He preached twice almost every day to great crowds, in the Independent and Baptist meeting-house; besides expounding in the evening in merchants' houses. Thus he went on successfully, though often ready to die with excessive heat.

At the end of August, having received letters of invitation from the Rev. Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper, ministers in Boston; and longing to see the descendants of the good old Puritans and their seats of learning, he sailed in the Orphan-house sloop for New England, in company with several Charlestown friends; and arrived at Rhode Island, September 14. Here he was visited (among others) by the Rev. Mr. Clap, a very venerable and aged dissenting minister, (in whom he thought he saw what manner of men the old Puritans were) who procured him the church, in which he preached twice a-day, to numerous and deeply affected auditories.

This was a good entrance into New England, and before he got to Boston his encouragement increased; for being met ten miles from that city by the governor's son, and a train of the clergy and principal inhabitants, they conducted him to Mr. St—nf—rd's, brother-in-law to Dr. Colman, who with Mr. Cooper and others came and joined in prayer.

Jonathan Belcher, Esq. was then governor of the Massachusett's colony, and Josiah Willard secretary. Both these gentlemen were his sincere friends: so were the ministers, Messrs. Webb, Foxcraft, Prince, Dr. Sewall, Gee, &c. To avoid, however, giving any just offence, he went to the English church; but not being permitted to preach therein, he began at Dr. Colman's

meeting-house, and then in all the rest, and sometimes on the common.

The governor, the secretary, and several of the council generally attended, treating him with the greatest respect. Old Mr. Walter, successor to Mr. Elliot, commonly called the Apostle of the Indians, at Roxbury, said, "it was Puritanism revived." And Dr. Colman said, "that it was the happiest day he ever saw in his life."

He preached also at many other places, to great multitudes of people. The gentlemen of the greatest repute had their houses open in every place; collections were readily made for the orphans: and, in about a week, having preached sixteen times, and rode one hundred and seventy miles, he returned to Boston, October 6.

Here the congregations were still increased, and his labours were crowned with increasing success. At his farewell sermon, it was supposed there were near TWENTY THOUSAND people. He received a great number of letters, and could have spent whole days in conversing with those that came to him under soul concern. Ministers and students attended, and even little children were impressed. The contributions for the orphans amounted to near five hundred pounds serling.

He next went to Northampton, having an earnest desire to see the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, and to receive from the mouth of that eminent divine, an account of a remarkable conversion there. At every place on the road pulpits were open, and a divine unction attended his preaching.

At Northampton, when he came to remind them of what God had formerly done for them, it was like putting fire to tinder. Both minister and people were much moved; as were the children of the family, at an

exhortation which their father desired Mr. Whitefield to give them.

After leaving Northampton, he preached in every town to large and affected congregations. And October 23, reached Newhaven,* where he was affectionately received by Mr. Pierpent, brother-in-law to Mr. Jonathan Edwards, and had the pleasure of seeing his friend Mr. Noble, of New York, who brought him letters from Georgia. It being assembly time, and the governor and burgesses then sitting, he stayed till Lord's-day, and had the pleasure to see numbers impressed. The good old governor was affected in a particular manner, and at a private visit which Mr. Whitefield paid him, said, "thanks be to God for such refreshings in our way to heaven."

On Monday morning he set forward, and preached with usual success at Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Newark, and Stanford, where he was visited by some ministers under deep concern.

* The attention of the people in general was greatly awakened upon hearing the fame of him, that there was a remarable preacher from England travelling through the country The people flocked to hear him when he came to Newhaven. Some travelled twenty miles out of the country to hear him. The assemblies were crowded, and remarkably attentive; people appeared generally to approve, and their conversation turned chiefly about him and his preaching. Some disapproved of several things which he advanced, which occasioned considerable disputes. I heard him when he preached in public, and when he expounded in private in the evening, and highly approved of him, and was somewhat impressed by what he said in public and in private. He preached against mixed dancing and frolicing of males and females together; which practice was then very common in New England. This offended some, especially young people. But I remember I justified him in this in my own mind, and in conversation with those who were disposed to condemn him. This was in October 1740, when I had entered on my last year in College.—*See Memoirs of Dr. Samuel Hopkins.*

This was on the borders of New York province, into which he now again entered, and preached at Rye and King's-bridge, on his way to the city of New York, where he arrived October 30. Here for three days successively, and afterwards at Staten Island, Newark, Baskenridge, his preaching appeared to be attended with more success than ever. At Trenton he had a long conference with some ministers, about Mr. Gilbert Tennent's complying with an invitation to go and preach in New England. After prayer, and considering the arguments both for and against this proposal, they thought it best he should go; which, however diffident of himself, he was persuaded to do. And his ministrations were attended with an extraordinary blessing to multitudes, as is particularly narrated elsewhere.*

What sort of reception Mr. Whitefield had in New England, will farther appear from the following letters of some eminent ministers of Boston, and adjacent towns, published by the Rev. Josiah Smith, of Charlestown, in the South Carolina Gazette.

"Rev. and Dear Sir, *October* 1, 1740.

"Your kind letter by Mr. Whitefield, and your other, are both now before me. You raised our expectations of him very much, as did his Journals more, and Mr. P. of New York, concurred with them; but we own now that we have seen and heard him, that our expectations are all answered, and exceeded, not only in his zealous and fervent abounding labours, but in the command of the hearts and affections of his hearers.

* See Prince's Christian History, or, Historical Collections of the Success of the Gospel, Vol. ii. where the facts are set down in the order of time.

About this time Mr. Whitefield wrote his letter to some church members of the Presbyterian persuasion, in answer to certain scruples and queries which they had proposed.—*See Works, Vol. IV.*

He has been received here as an angel of God, and a servant of Jesus Christ. I hope this visit to us will be of very great use and benefit to ministers and people. He has found his heart and mouth much opened to speak freely and boldly to us, and he finds it received with joy."

By the same Gentleman.

" Rev. and Dear Sir, *November* 29, 1740.

" Mr. Whitefield left us seven weeks ago; the last week we heard of him at Philadelphia. I hear that much of the presence of God is with him. He has left a blessing behind him, we hope with us. Our people, high and low, old and young, are very swift to hear. The excellent meekness of Mr. Whitefield's Answer to the Querists, will honour him to you."

Another writes thus:

" *October* 22, 1740.

" Though it is always a singular pleasure to me to hear from you, yet your two letters by Mr. Whitefield, had a new circumstance of pleasure from the dear hand that presented them. I perceive you was impatient to know what sort of entering in he had among us. We (ministers, rulers, and people) generally received him as an angel of God. When he preached his farewell sermon in our common, there were TWENTY-THREE THOUSAND, at a moderate computation. We are abundantly convinced, that you spoke the words of truth and soberness in your sermon relating to him. Such a power and presence of God with a preacher, and in religious assemblies, I never saw before; but I would not limit the Holy One of Israel. The prejudices of many are quite conquered, and expectations of others vastly outdone, as they freely own. A considerable number are awakened, and many christians seem to be greatly quickened. He has preached twice at Cambridge;

he has one warm friend there, Mr.——, the tutor, who has followed him to Northampton, and will, for aught I know, to Georgia. But Mr. Whitefield has not a warmer friend any where, than the first man among us. Our governor has shewed him the highest respect, carried him in his coach from place to place, and could not help following him fifty miles out of town. I hope the religion of the country will fare the better for the impressions left on him."

The same Gentleman writes,

"*December* 2, 1740.

"The man greatly beloved, I suppose, may be with you before now. That his visit here will be esteemed a distinguished mercy of heaven by many, I am well satisfied. Every day gives me fresh proofs of Christ's speaking in him. A small set of gentlemen amongst us, when they saw the affections of the people so moved under his preaching, would attribute it only to the force of sound gestures. But the impressions on many are so lasting, and have been so sransforming, as to carry plain signatures of a divine hand going along with him." 10798

Another Gentleman writes,

"*November* 1, 1740.

"I received yours by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, with whom I coveted a great deal more private conversation than I had opportunity for, by reason of the throngs of people almost perpetually with him. But he appears to be full of the love of God, and fired with an extraordinary zeal for the cause of Christ, and applies himself with the most indefatigable diligence, that ever was seen among us, for the promoting the good of souls. His head, his heart, his hands, seem to be full of his Master's business. His discourses, especially when he goes into the expository way, are very entertaining. Every eye is fixed upon him, and every ear chained to

his lips. Most are very much affected; many awakened and convinced, and a general seriousness excited. His address, more especially to the passions, is wonderful, and beyond what I have ever seen. I think I can truly say, that his preaching has quickened me, and I believe it has many others besides, as well as the people. Several of my flock, especially the younger sort, have been brought under convictions by his preaching; and there is this remarkable amongst them, of the good effect of his preaching, that the word preached now by us, seems more precious to them, and comes with more power upon them. My prayer for him is, that his precious life may be lengthened out, and that he may be an instrument of reviving dying religion in all places whithersoever he comes, who seems to be wonderfully fitted for, as well as spirited to it."

Saturday, November 8, Mr. Whitefield came back to Philadelphia; and preached to several thousands in a house built for the purpose twice a-day, till November 17, when he again left that city; and on the 22d of the same month, he got to Bohemia, in Maryland; from whence he went to Rhode Island.

December 21, he set sail for Charlestown, in South Carolina, and here he makes the following remark: "It is now the seventy-fifth day, since I arrived at Rhode Island. My body was then weak, but the Lord has much renewed its strength. I have been enabled to preach, I think, an *hundred and seventy-five* times in public, besides exhorting frequently in private. I have travelled upwards of *eight hundred miles*, and gotten upwards of *seven hundred pounds* sterling, in goods, provisions, and money, for the Georgia orphans. Never did I perform my journeys with so little fatigue, or see such a continuance of the divine presence in the congregations to whom I have preached. Praise the Lord, O my soul.

After a pleasant passage of eight or nine days, he arrived on the 14th of December at the orphan-house, leaving Mr. Jonathan Barber superintendant of the spiritual, and Mr. Habersham for the temporal affairs. After spending a very happy Christmas with his family, he set off again for Charlestown, where he arrived January 3, 1741; and on the 16th, went on board for England. He arrived March 11, at Falmouth, rode post to London, and preached the Sunday following at Kennington-common.

CHAP. VII.

From his arrival in England, in the year 1741, *to his leaving Scotland the same year.*

HE now found himself in a new and unexpected situation, on account of having written two letters against *The whole Duty of Man*, and *Archbishop Tillotson*. This gave great offence to many; and he says, "Mr. J. Wesley, somehow or other, had been prevailed on to preach and print in favour of perfection, and universal redemption; and very strongly against election, a doctrine which I thought, and do now believe, was taught me of God, therefore could not possibly recede from. Instead of having thousands to attend me, scarce one of my spiritual children came to see me from morning to night. Once, at Kennington-common, I had not above a hundred to hear me. It would have melted any heart to have heard Mr. Charles Wesley and me weeping after prayer, that, if possible, the breach might be prevented. Once I preached in the Foundery, (a place which Mr. John Wesley had procured in my

absence) on Galatians iii. but was suffered to preach there no more. All my work was to begin again. One day, I was exceedingly refreshed in reading Beza's Life of Calvin, wherein were these words: 'Calvin is turned out of Geneva, but behold a new church arises.' But this was not all; for a like scene opened at Bristol, where I was denied preaching in the house I had founded. A breach ensued."*

At this time, Mr. Cennick,† with several others, joined Mr. Whitefield. They began a new house

* About this time, he attended at the Parliament-house to give information concerning the state of the colony in Georgia.

† The Rev. John Cennick was one of Mr. Whitefield's most popular and useful fellow-labourers. He possessed a sweet simplicity of spirit, with an ardent zeal in the cause of his Divine Master. On the 4th of July, 1755, his happy spirit took its flight to the mansions of bliss, to enjoy, through eternal ages, uninterrupted communion and fellowship with a triune Jehovah, reconciled in Christ Jesus, after he had passed a life of thirty-five years, in this world of sin and sorrow.

Mr. Cennick was rather below the middle stature, of a fair countenance, but of a fairer mind. A good understanding, an open temper, and tender heart characterised the man. His christian qualities were not less distinguishable. If unaffected humility, deadness to the world, a life of communion with God, and a chearful reliance on a crucified Saviour, constitute the real christian, he was one in an eminent degree. Nor were the evidences of his call to the ministry less striking. Few ministers have felt a warmer love to Jesus Christ; few were more unwearied in preaching his gospel; few triumphed more in his cross, or suffered more patiently in his cause. As to success in his labours, perhaps there was not one in his day, except Mr. Whitefield, more highly honoured in this particular. 'Tis true, his language was not with the enticing words of man's wisdom; yet his doctrine and address were powerful, and found access to the hearts of thousands. The gospel he so diligently and faithfully dispensed, was the food of his own soul. He drank deeply of the cup of religious pleasures. His altar was not to an unknown God; he exalted not a Saviour whose virtues he had never proved; he pointed not to a spirit, under whose almighty influence he had not lived; he directed not to a heaven, the happiness of which he had not anticipated. His career was short; but if life may be estimated, by the comparative quantity

in Kingswood, and established a school there. And here, and in several other places, they preached to very large and serious congregations, in the same manner as he had done in America.

The weather not permitting to preach in Moorfields, some free-grace Dissenters procured the loan of a piece of ground, and built a large temporary shed, which he called a Tabernacle. A fresh awakening immediately began. Congregations grew exceedingly large, and at the people's desire, he sent for Messrs. Cennick, Harris, Seagrave, Humphries, &c. to assist.

Fresh doors were now opened to him, and many invitations sent him from places where he had never been. At a common near Braintree, in Essex, upwards of TEN THOUSAND persons attended. At Halstead, Dedham, Copleshall, Wethersfield, Colchester, Bury, Ipswich, the congregations were very large and much affected.*

At this period also, he was strongly solicited to visit Scotland. He therefore went from London to Leith,

of good produced in it, then this truly active, spiritual, and useful man, may be said to have lived to a good old age.

Where, on this side heaven, can a more enviable person be found, than he whose mind is thus furnished; whose soul is thus enriched; whose lips thus drop sweetness; whose life is thus devoted; whose services are thus crowned, and whose death is thus blessed? He may not have moved in the circles of the great, he may not have ranked with characters of literary fame; he may not be able to trace his pedigree through families of noble blood; he may not have soared on the wings of philosophic pursuits; but he has pierced the clouds; he has explored the celestial regions, he has presented its delicious fruits, and invited us to arise and possess the land. "O my soul, come thou into his secret, into his assembly mine honour be thou united!"—*See Life of the Rev. John Cennick, by the Rev. Matthew Wilks, prefixed to his Sermons.*

* "Sweet was the conversation I had with several ministers of Christ. But our own clergy grew more and more shy, now they knew I was a Calvinist; though no doubt our articles are calvinistical." M.S.

where he arrived July 30, 1741. Here he was most cordially received by several persons of distinction, who pressed him to preach at Edinburgh; but this he declined, and went directly to Dumfermlin, and preached in Mr. Erskine's meeting-house.

Mr. Ralph Erskine accompanied him to Edinburgh, where he preached in the orphan-house park,* (field preaching being no novelty in Scotland) to a very large and affected auditory; also in the West Kirk, in the Cannongate church. Returning to Dumfermlin, he there attended the conference of the associate presbytery, met, as they said, "to discourse, and set him right about church government, and the solemn league and covenant." Mr. Whitefield told them, they might save themselves that trouble, for he had no scruple about it, and that settling church government was not his plan. Several replied, that every pin of the Tabernacle was precious. He answered, that in every building, there were outside and inside workmen; that the outside at present was his province, and if they were called to the other, they might proceed in their own way, and he would in his. When required to preach only for them, he asked, why only for them? Mr. Ralph Erskine said, "They were the Lord's people." He then asked, were no others the Lord's people? If not, and others were the devil's people, they had more need to be preached to; that all places were alike to him, and that if the pope himself would lend him his pulpit, he would gladly

* A gentleman after having heard Mr. Whitefield preach in the orphan-house park, was met in his way home by an eminent minister, under whom he usually sat, and who expressed great surprise that he should go to hear *such* a man. The gentleman gave him this answer: "Sir," said he, "when I hear you, I am planting trees all the time; but during the whole of Mr. Whitefield's sermon, I never got time to plant one."

proclaim in it the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The result of all this was an open breach. Mr. Whitefield retired very thoughtful to his closet; and after preaching in the fields, sat down and dined with the presbytery, and then took a final leave.

Many waited at Edinburgh to know the issue of the conference, who were not disappointed in the event. Thither he returned, after preaching at Innerkeithing and the Queen's Ferry; and continued preaching always twice, often thrice, and once, seven times a day, for some weeks together. The churches were open, but not being able to hold half the congregations, he generally preached twice a-day in the orphan-house park to many thousands. Many of the highest rank constantly attended ;* and at some of their houses he expounded every evening, with wonderful success. Every day, almost, there were new evidences of the success of his labours. Numbers of ministers† and students came to hear him, and aged, experienced christians told him, they could set their seal to what he preached.

* Among his particular friends were the Marquis of Lothian, the Earl of Levan, Lord Rae, Lady Mary Hamilton, Lady Frances Gardiner, Lady Jane Nimmo, Lady Dirleton.—*See his Letters from August to December*, 1741.

† Particularly the Rev. Mr. Wilson of Maxton.—*See Letters* 338.

CHAP. VIII.

From his leaving Edinburgh, 1741, *to his return to that City in the year* 1742.

HAVING preached in most of the principal cities and towns, and collected above FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS, in money and goods, for his orphans, he left Edinburgh in the latter end of October, 1751, to go through Wales, in his way to London. Notwithstanding he met with unprecedented opposition from the clergy of the established church in general, and many of the more rigid Presbyterians in this tour to Scotland, yet many of the greatest ministers of every denomination espoused his cause, and gave honourable testimony of his examplary conduct, and the wonderful effects of his ministrations wherever he went.

At Abergavenny, in Wales, in consequence of a former resolution, he married Mrs. James, a widow between thirty and forty years of age, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Burnell; and of whom, he says, "she has been a housekeeper many years; once gay, but for three years last past, a despised follower of the Lamb of God." From Abergavenny, he went to Bristol, where he preached twice a-day with his usual success.

Upon returning to London in the beginning of December, he received letters from Georgia of rather an unpleasant nature, respecting their external affairs. On the other hand, he had most comfortable accounts of

the fruits of his ministry in Scotland; which made him think of paying another visit in the spring.

At Gloucester, Painswick, Stroud, and Tewksbury, he found many who were the seals of his ministry, and the people more and more desirous to hear. The churches at Painswick were opened to him where he preached, but still continued to preach without doors to vast multitudes. In writing to a friend, after hearing of several who had died in the Lord, he writes, "We shall never know what good field preaching hath done, till we come to judgment. Many who were prejudiced against me, begin to be of another mind; and this shews me more and more, that when a man's ways please the Lord, he will ever make his enemies to be at peace with him."

In the latter end of December he came to Bristol, where he continued near a month, preaching twice every day, and writing to his friends in London and Scotland. From Bristol he returned to Gloucester, where he remained some time.

On his way to London, February 23, he received letters from America, informing him of the remarkable success of the gospel there, and that God had stirred up some wealthy friends to assist his orphans in their late straits.

Upon his return to London, he went on with greater zeal and success, if possible, than ever. He thus writes to a brother: "April 6, 1742. Our Saviour is doing great things in London daily. I rejoice to hear that you are helped in your work. Let this encourage you: go on, go on; the more we do, the more we may do for Jesus. I sleep and eat but little, and am constantly employed from morning till midnight, and yet my strength is daily renewed. *O, free Grace!* It fires my soul, and makes me long to do something for Jesus. It is true, indeed, I want to go home; but here

are so many souls ready to perish for lack of knowledge, that I am willing to tarry below as long as my Master has work for me."

From this principal of compassion to perishing souls, he now ventured to take a very extraordinary step. It had been the custom for many years past, in the holiday seasons, to erect booths in Moorfields for players, mountebanks, puppet shews, &c. which were attended from morning till night, by innumerable multitudes of the lower sort of people. He determined to erect the gospel standard among them; and executed it. On Whit-monday, at six o'clock in the morning, attended by a large congregation of praying people, he began. The multitudes who had assembled for their usual diversions, all flocked round him. He addressed them from John iii. 14. They gazed, they listened, they wept—many were stung with convictions for their past sins—a solemn silence reigned. Being thus encouraged, he preached again at noon—thousands, when a merry-andrew was trumpeting to them, upon observing him mount a stand on the other side of the field, deserted him, and flocked to hear the gospel. But this so enraged the keepers of the booths, who had taken twenty or thirty pounds less that day than usual, that when he preached again in the evening, in the midst of the sermon, a merry-andrew sitting on a man's shoulders, advanced near his stand, and attempted to slash him with a heavy whip. Soon afterwards, they got a recruiting-serjeant, with his drums, &c. to pass through the congregation; but Mr. Whitefield desired the people to make way for the king's officer, which was quietly done. These efforts failing, a large body on the opposite side, having got a great pole for their standard, advanced with the sound of a drum in a very threatening manner, to the skirts of the congregation. Uncommon courage was given both to preacher and hearers, who prayed for support and

deliverance, for, by some accident, they quarrelled among themselves, threw down their staff, and went their way. Mr. Whitefield says, "I cannot help adding, that several little boys and girls, who were fond of sitting round me on my stand, while I preached, and handing to me people's notes, though they were often pelted with eggs, dirt, &c. thrown at me, never once gave way; but, on the contrary, every time I was struck, turned up their little weeping eyes, and seemed to wish they could receive the blows for me. God make them, in their growing years, great and living martyrs for him, who *out of the mouths of babes and sucklings perfects praise.*"

Mr. Whitefield continued in prayer, preaching, and singing, (for the noise was too great at times to preach) about three hours. He then retired to the Tabernacle, where thousands flocked. "We were determined," says he, "to pray down the booths; but blessed be God, more substantial work was done. At a moderate computation, I received, I believe, a THOUSAND NOTES from persons under conviction; and soon after, upwards of *three hundred* were received into the society in one day. Some I married, that had lived together without marriage. One man had exchanged his wife for another, and given fourteen shillings in exchange. Numbers, that seemed as it were to have been bred up for Tyburn, were at that time plucked as fire-brands out of the burning."

CHAP. IX.

From his arrival in Scotland, in 1742, *to his return to London the same year.*

SOON after this, he embarked a second time for Scotland, and arrived at Leith, June 3, 1742. He was received by great numbers, and some persons of distinction, with much joy; and had the satisfaction of seeing and hearing more and more of the happy fruits of his ministry. The opposition from the Seceders grew more violent than ever. But nothing moved by the bigotry of good, or the malice of wicked men, he continued to preach twice a day at Edinburgh, as usual, in the Hospital Park, where a number of seats and shades, in the form of an amphitheatre, were erected for the accommodation of his hearers.

In consequence of earnest invitations, he went to the west country, particularly to Cambuslang, where an astonishing awakening took place. He preached no less than three times upon the very day of his arrival, to a vast body of people, although he had preached that same morning at Glasgow. The last of these exercises he began at nine at night, continuing till eleven, when he said he observed such a commotion among the people, as he had never seen in America. Mr. M'Culloch preached after him, till past one in the morning, and even then they could hardly persuade the people to depart. All night in the fields might be heard the voice of prayer and praise. As Mr. Whitefield was frequently at Cambuslang during this season, a de-

scription of what he observed there at different times, will be best given in his own words: "Persons from all parts flocked to see, and many from many parts, went home convinced, and converted unto God. A brae, or hill, near the manse at Cambuslang, seemed to be formed by Providence, for containing a large congregation. People sat unwearied till two in the morning, to hear sermons, disregarding the weather. You could scarce walk a yard, but you must tread upon some, either rejoicing in God for mercies received, or crying out for more. Thousands and thousands have I seen, before it was possible to catch it by sympathy, melted down under the word and power of God. At the celebration of the holy communion, their joy was so great, that at the desire of many, both ministers and people, in imitation of Hezekiah's passover, they had, a month or two afterwards, a second; which was a general rendezvous of the people of God. The communion-table was in the field; three tents, at proper distances, all surrounded with a multitude of hearers; above twenty ministers attending to preach and assist, all enlivening and enlivened by one another."

Besides Glasgow and Cambuslang, it is really wonderful to think, how many other places in the west of Scotland he visited within a few weeks, preaching at every one of them. He was sometimes taken ill, and his friends thought he was going off; "but, in the pulpit, (says he) the Lord out of weakness, makes me to wax strong, and causes me to triumph more and more." And when he retired for a day or two, it was on purpose to write letters, and prepare pieces for the press.

When he was at Edinburgh, he received accounts that the Spaniards had landed at Georgia, and of the removal of his family from thence. He immediately wrote a very encouraging epistle to the honourable

Mr. Habersham; in which he said, "I long to be with you—and, methinks, would willingly be found at the head of you kneeling and praying, though a Spaniard's sword should be put to my throat." In a few weeks after, he heard that the enemy were repulsed, and his family returned in safety to Bethesda.* About the end of October he left Scotland, and rode post to London, where he arrived in about five days.

CHAP. X.

From his arrival in London in the year 1742, *to his embarking for America,* 1744.

ON Mr. Whitefield's arrival in London, he found a new awakening at the Tabernacle, which had been enlarged. He observes: "I am employed, and glory to rich grace, I am carried through the duties of each day with chearfulness, and almost uninterrupted tranquillity. Our society is large, but in good order. My Master gives us much of his gracious presence, both in our public and private administrations.

In March, 1743, he went into Gloucestershire, where people appeared to be more eager to hear the word than ever. "Preaching," says he, "in Gloucestershire, is now like preaching at the Tabernacle in London." And in a letter, dated April 7, he says, "I preached and took leave of the Gloucester people, with mutual and great concern, on Sunday evening last. It was

* The manner in which the Spaniards were repulsed, with remarks upon the kindness of Providence to the colony, may be seen in an extract of General Oglethorpe's proclamation for a thanksgiving, in Letter 502.

past one in the morning before I could lay my weary body down. At five I rose again, sick for want of rest; but I was enabled to get on horseback, and ride to Mr. T——'s, where I preached to a large congregation, who came there at seven in the morning. At ten, I read prayers and preached, and afterwards administered the sacrament in Stonehouse church. Then, I rode to Stroud, and preached to about TWELVE THOUSAND in Mrs. G——'s field; and about six in the evening, to a like number on Hampton common." Next morning he preached near Dursby to some thousands; about seven reached Bristol, and preached to a full congregation at Smith's-hall; and on Tuesday morning, after preaching, set out for Waterford, in South Wales,* where he opened the association which he and his brethren had agreed upon, and was several days with them, settling the affairs of the societies. He continued in Wales some weeks, and preached with great apparent success;† and

* "The work begun by Mr. Jones, spread itself far and near, in North and South Wales, where the Lord had made Mr. Howel Harris an instrument of converting several clergy as well as laymen. The power of God at the sacrament, under the ministry of Mr. Rowland, was enough to make a person's heart burn within him. At seven in the morning have I seen perhaps TEN THOUSAND from different parts, in the midst of a sermon, crying, *Gogumniant—bendyitti*— ready to leap for joy. Associations were now formed, and monthly or quarterly meetings appointed, and a closer connection established between the English and Welch, so that several came over to assist." M.S.

At a quarterly association of the ministers of the Welch Calvinistic Methodists, held at Carmarthen, on Wednesday and Thursday, November 11 and 12, 1808, it is thought there were above TEN THOUSAND persons present, and from forty-five to fifty ministers. And at the annual meeting of the Independents, held at Swansea, in South Wales, June 25 and 26, 1806, between NINE and TEN THOUSAND auditors attended, and upwards of fifty ministers.

† When at Carmarthen, he writes: "It was the great sessions. The justices desired I would stay till they rose, and they would come. Accordingly they did, and many thousands more; and several people of quality.—Letter 509.

in the latter end of April returned to Gloucester, after having, in about three weeks, travelled about FOUR HUNDRED English miles, spent three days in attending associations, and preached about FORTY times.

At one of the associations held in Wales, a motion was made to separate from the established church: "but," says Mr. Whitefield, Letter 533, "by far the greater part strenuously opposed it, and with good reason: for, as we enjoy such great liberty under the mild and gentle government of his present majesty king George, I think we can do him, our country, and the cause of God, more service in ranging up and down, preaching repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, to those multitudes who would neither come into church or meeting, but who are led by curiosity to follow us into the fields. This is a way to which God has affixed his seal for many years past."

In May, he went back to London: "Once more," as he expressed it, "to attack the prince of darkness in Moorfields," during the holidays. The congregations were amazingly great, and much affected. And by the collections made now, and formerly, he had the pleasure of paying all that he owed in England, and of making a small remittance to his friend Mr. Habersham, for Georgia.

About the middle of June following, he again left London, and went to Bristol, where he continued some time, preaching twice every day, and four times on Sunday. Afterwards he preached at Exeter to very large congregations, where many of the clergy attended.*

* The Rev. J. Cennick (then in connexion with Mr. Whitefield) was preaching in the high street of the city of Exeter, on a large open spot of ground, and surrounded by a great number of people, by some of whom he had been previously ill-treated. Mr. C. was expatiating on the blood of Christ, when a profane butcher, who was among the crowd, said, "If you love blood, you shall presently have enough;"

In August he returned to London, but made no long stay there. "I thank you," says he to a correspondent, letter 540, "for your kind caution to spare myself; but evangelizing is certainly my province. Every where effectual doors are opened. So far from thinking of settling at London, I am more and more convinced that I should go from place to place."

Accordingly we find him in the months of October, November, and December, preaching and travelling through the country, as if it had been the middle of summer. At Avon in Wilts, Tetherton, Clack, Brinkworth, Chippenham, Wellington, Collumpton, Exeter, Axminster, Ottery, Biddeford,* St. Gennis in Corn-

and ran to get some to throw on him. A Mr. Sanders (who for several years drove what was called *road work*, post-chaises not then being much in use) was also a by-stander, and, though at that time an entire stranger to divine things, from a sense of the ill-usage Mr. C. had received, and was likely to receive, felt an inclination to defend him. Seeing the man come with a pail nearly full of blood, he calmly went to meet him, and when he came even with him, suddenly caught hold of the pail, and poured it over the man's head. This drew the attention of the riotous part of the people from the preacher to Mr. S. who with some difficulty escaped their rage, by taking shelter in a house, and was obliged to leave the town very early on the next morning.

Mr. Sanders was afterwards awakened to a true sense of his condition before God, under the ministry of the late Rev. William Romaine, at St. George's, Hanover-square. He continued his occupation as a coachman, till about the year 1745 or 6; when he was made body-coachman to his present majesty, and so continued till about the year 1780, when he petitioned for a dismission, on account of his age, being about seventy years old: it was granted with regret. His majesty, when riding on horseback through Kensington, if he saw his old servant walking, would often enquire after his health; and the same regard was shewn by the other branches of the royal family. On the 13th August, 1799, at the advanced age of eighty-nine, he sweetly breathed his happy soul into the bosom of his Redeemer.

* "Here is a clergyman about eighty years of age, but not above one year old in the school of Christ. He lately preached

wall,* Birmingham,† Kidderminster,‡ and Bromsgrove. Nor did he feel his health much impaired, though it was so late in the season. He observes, indeed, than he had got a cold; but adds, "The Lord warms my heart."‖

February, 1741, he lost his only child, an event which tended to keep him humble. Before its birth, his mind was so impressed, that he publicly declared that the child would be a boy, and hoped he would live to preach the gospel. But his fond expectations were speedily blasted, the infant dying when but four months old. This was no doubt very humbling to the father; but he was helped to make the wisest and best improvement of it. "Though I am disappointed," says he, writing to a friend, "of a living preacher by the death of my son; yet I hope what happened before his birth, and since at his death, has taught me such lessons as if duly improved, may render his mistaken parent more

three times, and rode forty miles the same day. A young Oxonian who came with him, and many others, were deeply affected. I cannot well describe with what power the word was attended. Dear Mr. Hervey, one of our first Methodists at Oxford, and who was lately a curate here, had laid the foundation."—Letter 540.

* "Many prayers were put up by the worthy rector and others, for an outpouring of God's blessed spirit. They were answered. Arrows of conviction flew so thick, and so fast, and such an universal weeping prevailed from one end of the congregation to the other, that good Mr. J. their minister, could not help going from seat to seat, to speak, encourage, and comfort the wounded souls."—Letter 541.

† "It is near 11 at night, and nature calls for rest. I have preached five times this day, and, weak as I am, through Christ strengthening me, I could preach five times more."—Letter 543.

‡ "I was kindly received by Mr. Williams. Many friends were at his house. I was greatly refreshed to find what a sweet savour of good Mr. Baxter's doctrine, works, and discipline remained to this day."—Letter 544.

‖ Letter 542.

cautious, more sober-minded, more experienced in Satan's devices, and consequently more useful in his future labours to the church of God."*

March 3, he was obliged to attend the assizes at Gloucester. The occasion was: in the summer 1743, the Methodists had been severely persecuted by the mob, especially at Hampton, where many were hurt, and the lives of the preachers threatened. Other means having been tried in vain, Mr. Whitefield, with the advice and assistance of his friends, resolved to seek the protection of the law, and lodged an information against the Hampton rioters, in the court of King's Bench. Facts being proved, and defendants making no reply, the rule was made absolute, and an information filed against them. They pleading *not guilty*, the cause was referred to the assizes in Gloucester. After a full hearing, a verdict was given for the plaintiffs, and all the defendants were brought in guilty. This prosecution had a very good effect; the rioters were greatly alarmed. But the intention of the Methodists was only to shew them what they could do, and then forgive them.†

About this time, several anonymous papers, entitled, "Observations upon the Conduct and Behaviour of a certain Sect, usually distinguished by the name of Methodists," were printed, and handed about in the religious societies of London and Westminster, and given to many private persons, with strict injunctions not to part with them. Mr. Whitefield having accidentally had the hasty perusal of them; and finding many queries concerning him and his conduct contained therein; and having applied for a copy, which was refused him, thought it his duty to publish an advertisement desiring (as he knew not how soon he might embark

* Letter 547.

† Letter 549, 550.—See an account of this trial in his Works, Vol. IV.

for Georgia) a speedy, open publication of the said papers, that he might make a candid and impartial answer. He had reason to believe the bishop of London was concerned in composing or revising them: but that he might not be mistaken, after the publication of the advertisement, he wrote the bishop a letter, wherein he desired to know, whether his lordship was the author or not; and also desired a copy. The bishop sent word, "he should hear from him." Some time after, a Mr. Owen, printer to the bishop, left a letter for Mr. Whitefield, informing him that he had orders from *several of the bishops*, to print the *Observations, &c. with some few additions*, for their use; and when the impression was finished, Mr. Whitefield should have a copy. For these reasons Mr. Whitefield thought it proper to direct his *Answer to the Observations* to the bishop of London, and the other bishops concerned in the publication of them. This answer occasioned the Rev. Mr. Church's expostulatory Letter to Mr. Whitefield; to which he soon replied, with thanks to the author for prefixing his name.*

Being invited by Mr. Smith, a merchant, then in England, (in the name of thousands) to make another visit to America, he took a passage with that gentleman, in a vessel going from Portsmouth; but the captain refusing to take him, as he said, for fear of spoiling the sailors, he was obliged to go to Plymouth, where he was in imminent danger of being assassinated. "In my way," says he, "I preached at Wellington, where a Mr. Darracott had been a blessed instrument of doing much good. At Exeter also, I re-visited, where many souls were awakened to the divine life. At Biddeford, where good Mr. Hervey had been curate, we had much

* See his Works, Vol. IV. where is also his Answer to the second part of the Observations, &c. in a second letter to the bishops, written during his voyage to America that year.

of the power of God; and also at Kingsbridge. But the chief scene was at Plymouth and the dock, where I expected least success."*

Whilst at Plymouth, four gentlemen came to the house of one of his particular friends, and with much seeming kindness, enquired after him, desiring to know where he lodged? Soon afterwards, Mr. Whitefield received a letter, informing him, that the writer was a nephew of Mr. S——, an attorney, at New York; that he had the pleasure of supping with Mr. Whitefield at his uncle's house; and desired his company to sup with him and a few more friends, at a tavern. Mr. Whitefield sent him word, "that it was not customary for him to sup abroad at a tavern, but should be glad of the gentleman's company to eat a morsel with him at his lodgings." He accordingly came and supped; but was observed frequently to look around him, and to be very absent. At last he took his leave, and returned to his companions in the tavern; and being by them interrogated, what he had done? He answered, "that he had been used so civilly, he had not the heart to touch him." Upon which, another of the company, a lieutenant of the navy, laid a wager of ten guineas, that he would do

* M.S. Upon mentioning Biddeford, he adds "[here a character of Mr. Hervey;]" it is a pity he did not write it down. However, we have a sketch of it in Letter 763. "Your sentiments concerning Mr. Hervey's book, are very just. The author of it is my old friend; a most heavenly-minded creature, one of the first of the Methodists, who is contented with a small cure, and gives all that he has to the poor. He is very weak, and daily waits for his dissolution."

Among the many whom Mr. Whitefield was honoured to be the means of converting to the knowledge of the truth, and who shall be a crown of joy to him in the day of the Lord, it is perhaps not generally known that the celebrated Mr. Hervey is to be numbered. In a letter to Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Hervey thus expresses himself:—"Your Journals, dear Sir, and Sermons, and especially that sweet sermon, on "What think ye of Christ?" were a mean of bringing me to the knowledge of the truth."—*See Memoirs of the Rev. James Hervey, by the Rev. John Brown.*

his business for him. His companions, however, took away his sword. It was midnight: and Mr. Whitefield having preached to a large congregation, and visited the French prisoners, was gone to bed; when the landlady came and told him, that a well-dressed gentleman desired to speak with him. Mr. Whitefield imagining it was somebody under conviction, desired him to be brought up. He came and sat down by the bed-side, congratulated him on the success of his ministry, and expressed much concern at being detained from hearing him. Soon after, he broke out into the most abusive language; and in a cruel and cowardly manner, beat him in bed. The landlady and her daughter hearing the noise, rushed into the room, and seized upon him; but he soon disengaged himself from them, and repeated his blows on Mr. Whitefield; who, being apprehensive that he intended to shoot or stab him, underwent all the surprise of a sudden and violent death. Afterwards, a second came into the house, and cried out from the bottom of the stairs, "take courage, I am ready to help you." But by the repeated cry of *Murder!* the alarm was now so great, that they both made off. "The next morning," says Mr. Whitefield,* "I was to expound at a private house, and then to set out for Biddeford. Some urged me to stay and prosecute; but being better employed, I went on my intended journey, was greatly blessed in preaching the everlasting gospel, and upon my return was well paid for what I had suffered: curiosity having led perhaps two thousand more than ordinary, to see and hear a man that had narrowly escaped being murdered in his bed. And I trust in the five weeks time,† while I waited for the convoy, hundreds were awakened and turned unto the Lord. At the Dock also, near Plymouth, a glorious work was begun. Could the fields between

* Letter 552.
† M.S.

Plymouth and the Dock speak, they could tell what blessed seasons were enjoyed there."*

* The late Rev. Henry Tanner, of Exeter, in the year 1743, removed to Plymouth, to obtain employment as a ship-builder; here it pleased God to call him by his grace, under the ministry of Mr. Whitefield. Being at work, he heard from a considerable distance, the voice of that zealous man of God, who was preaching in the street, or fields, probably between Plymouth town and Dock: he immediately concluded that the preacher was a madman; and determined, with five or six more of his companions, to go and knock him off from the place on which he stood; and, for the purpose of more effectually injuring *the mad parson*, they loaded their pockets with stones. When, however, Mr. Tanner drew near, and perceived Mr. Whitefield extending his arms, and in the most pathetic language inviting poor lost sinners to Christ, he was struck with amazement. His resolution failed him: he listened with astonishment, and was soon convinced that the preacher was not mad; but was indeed speaking "the words of truth and soberness." Mr. Whitefield was then preaching from Acts xvii. 19, 20. "May we know what this new doctrine whereof thou speakest is?—for thou bringest certain strange things to our ears." He went home much impressed, and determined to hear him again the next evening. He attended. Mr. Whitefield was wonderfully fervent in prayer. His text was Luke xxiv. 47, "And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." After speaking of the heinous sin of the Jews, and of the Roman soldiers, who were the instruments of perpetrating the cruel murder of the Lord of life, Mr. Whitefield, turning from the spot where Mr. Tanner then stood, near his side, said, "You are reflecting now on the cruelty of those inhuman butchers, who imbrued their hands in his innocent blood," when, suddenly turning round, and looking intently at Mr. Tanner, he exclaimed, "Thou art the man!" These words, sharper than any two-edged sword, pierced him to the heart; he felt himself the sinner, who, by his iniquities, had crucified the son of God. His sins stared him in the face; he knew not how to stand; and in agony of soul he was forced to cry, "God be merciful to me a sinner!" The preacher then, in melting language, proclaimed the free and super-abounding grace of God in Christ, which was commanded to be preached; first of all to Jerusalem-sinners, the very people who had murdered the Prince of Life; and from which a gleam of hope beamed into his heart. Under this sermon, many other persons were convinced of sin, and brought to God. The next night Mr. Tanner heard Mr. Whitefield preach again: his subject was "Jacob's Ladder." From this discourse he obtained such views of the person, character,

and love of the great Mediator, as enabled him to lay hold on the hope set before him, and to rejoice in Christ Jesus.

The advances which Mr. Tanner made in religious knowledge and experience, were exceedingly rapid. By reviewing his former state, he learned to pity the souls of his fellow-men, whom he saw perishing for lack of knowledge. Having experienced the power of divine truth on his own heart, he became strongly inclined to the ministry of the gospel. In 1754, he hired a room, and soon began to preach. His labours were remarkably blessed, and he seemed never to preach one sermon in vain! A circumstance now occurred, which perhaps deserves to be recorded:—A man, who lived in the court in which Mr. Tanner preached, was so very much exasperated at having a methodist preaching-room near him, that he determined to remove to another part of the city. He did so; but afterwards returned to the same house. Here he was taken ill; and was confined in a room so near the preaching-place, as to be able to hear Mr. Tanner. He heard him pray with great fervour for the king, and all classes of men. His prejudices were awakened: he began to think well of him. Mr. Tanner, in his sermon, introduced some part of the articles and homilies of the church of England, to prove that the doctrines which he taught were consistent with them. The next morning the man bought a Bible with the articles, that he might read and judge of the truth of what he had heard. When he read, he said to those about him, "this is just as this man preaches." He afterwards ventured to go into the room, where the Lord made the gospel "the power of God" unto his salvation. This man afterwards went into the neighbouring villages to speak to his fellow-sinners; and there is reason to believe that his attempts were blessed to many souls.

In 1769, Mr. Tanner built the Tabernacle in Exeter, where he laboured for many years, preaching three times every Lord's day, and twice in the week, beside engaging in more private exercises.

Mr. Tanner did not confine his ministry to Exeter: he looked with compassion on the peculiarly dark neighbourhood. At the request of the late Rev. Augustus Montague Toplady, he used to preach at Broad Hembury: he likewise laboured in the towns of Moreton, Hampstead, Crediton, and Topham, and in various villages in the vicinity. In each of these places he met with great opposition; yet some in heaven, and others on their road thither, bless God that they ever heard him.

Mr. Tanner's exertions continued unabated till within a short time of his death. His frequent petition was, that he might die in his Master's work. His petition was granted. For he was taken out of the pulpit, being unable to finish his sermon; and shortly after fell asleep in Jesus, March 30, 1805, aged eighty-six.—*See Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late Henry Tanner, of Exeter, by the Rev. Robert Hawker, D.D. Vicar of Charles's, Plymouth.*

CHAP. XI.

From his embarking for America in 1744, *to his going to the Bermudas, in the year* 1748.

IN the beginning of August 1744, as soon as the convoy came,* Mr. Whitefield embarked, though in a poor state of health; and after a tedious passage of eleven weeks,† arrived at New York, in New England. Colonel Pepperell went with some friends in his own boat, to invite him to his house; but he declined the invitation, being so ill of a nervous cholic, that he was obliged immediately after his arrival to go to bed. His friends expressed much anxiety on his behalf. An eminent physician attended him, who had been a deist, but was awakened the last time he was in New England. Fort some time he was, indeed very weak: "yet," he writes,‡ "in these three weeks, I was enabled to preach: but, imprudently going over the ferry to Portsmouth, I caught cold, immediately relapsed, and was taken as

* "August 4. Our convoy is come. I desire you all to bless God for what he is doing in these parts; for preaching in the Dock is now like preaching at the Tabernacle. Our morning lectures are very delightful. O! the thousands that flock to the preaching of Christ's gospel."—Letter 558, 559.

P. S. "I must tell you one thing more. There is a ferry over to Plymouth. The ferrymen are now so much my friends, that they will take nothing of the multitudes that come to hear me preach; saying, "God forbid that we should sell the word of God."

† His letter to the clergy of the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry, is dated during this voyage.

‡ M.S. and letter 562.—*See Works, Vol. IV.*

every one thought, with death, in my dear friend Mr. Sherburne's house. What gave me most concern was, that notice had been given of my being to preach. Whilst the doctor was preparing a medicine, feeling my pains abated, I on a sudden cried, 'Doctor, my pains are suspended: by the help of God, I will go and preach, and then come home and die.' In my own apprehension, and in all appearance to others, I was a dying man. I preached. The people heard me as such. The invisible realities of another world lay open to my view. Expecting to stretch into eternity, and to be with my Master before the morning, I spoke with peculiar energy. Such effects followed the word, I thought it was worth dying for a thousand times. Though wonderfully comforted within, at my return home I thought I was dying indeed. I was laid on a bed upon the ground, near the fire, and I heard my friends say, 'He is gone.' But God was pleased to order it otherwise. I gradually recovered; and soon after, a poor negro woman would see me. She came, sat down upon the ground, and looked earnestly in my face, and then said, in broken language: 'Massa, you just go to heaven's gate. But Jesus Christ said: get you down, get you down, you must not come here yet; but go first, and call some more poor negroes!' I prayed to the Lord, that if I was to live, this might be the event."

In about three weeks, though extremely weak, he reached Boston. A glorious work had been begun, and carried on, in almost all parts of New England, for two years together.

It was now spring 1745. And the first expedition being set on foot against Cape Breton, colonel Pepperell, who constantly attended Mr. Whitefield's lectures, asked his advice, the day before he accepted a commission, to be general in that expedition; who told him, with his usual freedom, "that he did not, indeed, think the

scheme proposed for taking Louisburgh, very promising; and that the eyes of all would be upon him. If he did not succeed, the widows and orphans of the slain soldiers would be like lions, robbed of their whelps; but, if it pleased God to give him success, envy would endeavour to eclipse his glory. He had need, therefore, if he went, to go with a single eye; and then there was no doubt, but if Providence really sent him, he would find his strength proportioned to the day." Mr. Sherborne, also being appointed one of the commissaries, told him, "he must favour the expedition; otherwise the serious people would be discouraged from enlisting: not only so, but insisted he should give him a motto for his flag, for the encouragement of his soldiers." This he refused to do, as it would be acting out of character. Mr. Sherborne taking no denial, he at last gave one—*nil desperandum Christo duce*—"if Christ be captain, no fear of a defeat." Upon which, great numbers enlisted. The officers, likewise, requested him to give them a sermon. This he readily complied with; and preached from the following words—"*As many as were distressed, as many as were discontented, as many as were in debt, came to David, and he became a captain over them.*" He spiritualized the subject, and told them how distressed sinners came to Jesus Christ, the spiritual David—exhorted the soldiers to behave like the soldiers of David—and the officers to act like David's worthies; and then he doubted not, there would be good news from Cape Breton. The general afterwards asked him, if he would not be one of his chaplains? But he excused himself; saying, he thought he might be more useful by stirring up the people to prayer for his success. In about six weeks, news was brought of the surrender of Louisburgh; when numbers flocked from all parts, to hear a thanksgiving sermon upon the occasion.

The people of New England, offered to build him a large house to preach in, which he begged leave to refuse, because it would abridge his liberty of itinerating.

As his bodily strength increased, he began to travel southward, every where preaching to thousands. And in his way to Philadelphia, he says, "I had the pleasure of preaching, by an interpreter, to some converted Indians; and of seeing near fifty young ones in one school, near Freehold, learning the Assembly's Catechism. A blessed awakening had been begun, and carried on among the Delaware Indians, by the instrumentality of Mr. David Brainard,* such a one as hath not been heard of since the awakening in New England, by the venerable Mr. Elliot, who used to be stiled the Apostle of the Indians; his brother followed him. Mr. William Tennent, whose party I found much upon the advance, seemed to encourage their endeavours with all his heart. In North Carolina, I had the pleasure of seeing one, who came a player from New York, converted unto God,

* It is a circumstance worthy of note, that about the same period that the great Head of the church was preparing Messrs. Whitefield, Wesleys, and others, in this land, to stem the torrent of infidelity, and propagate divine truth, he manifested the same care and concern for the inhabitants of the new world, in raising up that burning and shining light, Dr. Jonathan Edwards, to disseminate the seed of eternal life in that barren soil.

In the year 1729, the spirit was poured out from on high, and the divine glory began to shine upon the land; but in the year 1733, there was a very remarkable revival of the work of God, in New England, and great numbers of souls were savingly converted unto God.—*See Dr. Jonathan Edwards's Narrative of the late Work of God, at and near Northampton in New England.*

A few years after, the Lord greatly owned the labours of that eminently holy and useful man, Mr. David Brainard, who was instrumental in converting many of the poor ignorant Indians, to the knowledge of the truth.—*See Styles's Life of Brainard.*

and a preacher of Jesus Christ. One Mr. Ratteray brought me ten pounds; and at my return northward, fresh supplies were raised up. The generous Charlestown people raised a subscription of three hundred pounds, with which I bought land, it being cheap during the war; and a plantation and a few negroes were purchased at Indian Land. Thus, for a while, the gap was stopped. I preached a sermon upon the rebellion—was very sick at Philadelphia—and kindly received at Bohemia and New York."

As itinerating was his delight, and America, being a new world, particularly pleasing, he now began to think of returning no more to his native country. But travelling, care, and a load of debt, contracted not for himself, but for the orphan-house, weighed him down.

In his letters during this period, are the following passages:—

"August 26, 1746. The door for my usefulness, opens wider and wider. I love to range in the American woods, and sometimes think I shall never return to England any more."

"October 8. I have had some sweet times with several of the Lutheran ministers at Philadelphia."

"June 1, 1747. The congregations yesterday were exceedingly large. I am sick and well, as I used to be in England; but the Redeemer fills me with comfort. I am determined, in his strength to die fighting."

"June 4. I have omitted preaching one night to oblige my friends, that they may not charge me with murdering myself; but I hope yet to die in the pulpit, or soon after I come out of it."

"June 23. Since my last, I have been several times on the verge of eternity. At present I am so weak that I cannot preach. It is hard work to be silent, but I must be tried every way."

"September 11. We saw great things in New

England. The flocking and power that attended the word, was like unto that seven years ago. Weak as I was, and have been, I was enabled to travel ELEVEN HUNDRED miles, and preach daily."

About this time being much troubled with stitches in his side, he was advised to go to Bermudas, for the recovery of his health. He accordingly embarked, and landed there the 15th March, 1748.

CHAP. XII.

From his arrival at Bermudas, to his return to London in July 1748.

MR. Whitefield met with the kindest reception at Bermudas, and for about a month he preached generally twice a-day, traversing the island from one end to the other; but his activity, treatment, and success, will best appear from the following extracts from his manuscript Journal of that period.

"The simplicity and plainness of the people, together with the pleasant situation of the island, much delighted me. The Rev. Mr. Holiday, minister of Spanish Point, received me in a most affectionate christian manner; and begged I would make his house my home. In the evening I expounded at the house of Mr. Savage, at Port Royal, which was very commodious; and which also he would have me make my home. I went with Mr. Savage, in a boat lent us by captain ——, to the town of St. George, in order to pay our respects to the governor. All along we had a most pleasant prospect

of the other part of the island, but a more pleasant one I never saw. One Mrs. Smith, of St. George's, for whom I had a letter of recommendation from my dear old friend, Mr. Smith, of Charlestown, received me into her house. About noon, with one of the council, and Mr. Savage, I waited upon the governor. He received us courteously, and invited us to dine with him and the council at a tavern. We accepted the invitation, and all behaved with great civility and respect. After the governor rose from table, he desired, if I stayed in town on the Sunday, that I would dine with him at his own house.

"Sunday, March 20. Read prayers and preached twice this day, to what were esteemed here large auditories—in the morning at Spanish Point church, and in the evening at Brackish Pond church, about two miles distant from each other. In the afternoon I spoke with greater freedom than in the morning; and I trust not altogether in vain. All were attentive—some wept. I dined with colonel Butterfield, one of the council; and received several invitations to other gentlemen's houses. May God bless and reward them, and incline them to open their hearts to receive the Lord Jesus! Amen and Amen!

"Wednesday, March 23. Dined with captain Gibbs, and went from thence and expounded at the house of captain F——le, at Hunbay, about two miles distant. The company was here also large, attentive, and affected. Our Lord gave me utterance. I expounded on the first part of the 8th chapter of Jeremiah. After lecture, Mr. Riddle, a counsellor, invited me to his house; as did Mr. Paul, an aged Presbyterian minister, to his pulpit: which I complied with, upon condition the report was true, that the governor had served the ministers with an injunction that I should not preach in the churches.

"Friday, March 25. Was prevented preaching yesterday by the rain, which continued from morning till night: but this afternoon, God gave me another opportunity of declaring his eternal truths to a large company at the house of one Mr. B——s, who last night sent me a letter of invitation.

"Sunday, March 27. Glory be to God! I hope this has been a profitable Sabbath to many souls: it has been a pleasant one to mine. Both morning and afternoon I preached to a large auditory, for Bermudas, in Mr. Paul's meeting-house, which I suppose contains about four hundred. Abundance of negroes, and many others, were in the vestry, porch, and about the house. The word seemed to be clothed with a convicting power, and to make its way into the hearts of the hearers. Between sermons, I was entertained very civilly in a neighbouring house. Judge Bascom, and three more of the council, came thither, and each gave me an invitation to his house. How does the Lord make way for a poor stranger in a strange land!—After the second sermon, I dined with Mr. Paul; and in the evening expounded to a very large company at counsellor Riddle's. My body was somewhat weak; but the Lord carried me through, and caused me to go to rest rejoicing.—May I thus go to my grave, when my ceaseless uninterrupted rest shall begin!

"Monday, March 28. Dined this day at Mrs. Dorrel's, mother-in-law to my dear friend the Rev. Mr. Smith; and afterwards preached to more than a large house-full of people, on Matthew ix. 12. Towards the conclusion of the sermon, the hearers began to be more affected than I have yet seen them. Surely the Lord Jesus will give me some seals in this island! Grant this, O Redeemer, for thy infinite mercy sake!

"Thursday, March 31. Dined on Tuesday, at colonel Corbusier's; and on Wednesday, at colonel Gil-

bert's, both of the council; and found, by what I could hear, that some good had been done, and many prejudices removed. Who shall hinder, if God will work? Went to an island this afternoon, called Ireland, upon which live a few families; and to my surprize, found a great many gentlemen, and other people, with my friend, Mr. Holiday, who came from different quarters to hear me. Before I began preaching, I went round to see a most remarkable cave, which very much displayed the exquisite workmanship of Him, who in his strength setteth fast the mountains, and is girded about with power.—Whilst I was in the cave, quite unexpectedly I turned and saw counsellor Riddle, who with his son, came to hear me: and whilst we were in the boat, told me, that he had been with the governor, who declared he had no personal prejudices against me—and wondered I did not come to town, and preach there, for it was the desire of the people; and that any house in the town, the court-house not excepted, should be at my service. Thanks be to God for so much favour! If his cause requires it, I shall have more. He knows my heart: I value the favour of man no farther, than as it makes room for the gospel, and gives me a larger scope to promote the glory of God. There being no capacious house upon the island, I preached for the first time here in the open air. All heard very attentive; and it was very pleasant after sermon to see so many boats full of people returning from the worship of God. I talked seriously to some in our own boat, and sung a psalm, in which they readily joined.

"Sunday, April 3. Preached twice this day at Mr. Paul's meeting-house, as on the Sabbath, but with greater freedom and power, especially in the morning; and I think to as great, if not greater auditories. Dined with colonel Harvy, another of the council—visited a sick woman, where many came to hear—and expounded

afterwards, to a great company, at captain John Dorrel's, Mrs. Dorrel's son, who with his wife, courteously entertained me, and desired me to make his house my home.—So true is that promise of our Lord's, 'that whosoever leaves father and mother, house or lands, shall have in this life a hundred-fold, with persecution, and in the world to come, life everlasting.' Lord, I have experienced the one: in thy good time grant that I may experience the other also!

"Wednesday, April 6. Preached yesterday at the house of Mr. Anthony Smith, of Baylis Bay, with a considerable degree of warmth; and rode afterwards to St. George's, the only town on the island. The gentlemen of the town had sent me an invitation by judge Bascom; and he, with several others, came to visit me at my lodgings; and informed me, that the governor desired to see me. About ten I waited upon his excellency, who received me with great civility, and told me he had no objection against my person, or my principles, having never yet heard me; and he knew nothing in respect to my conduct in moral life, that might prejudice him against me; but his instructions were, to let none preach in the island, unless he had a written licence to preach somewhere in America, or the West Indies: at the same time, he acknowledged that it was but a matter of mere form. I informed his excellency, that I had been regularly inducted to the parish of Savannah; that I was ordained priest by letters dimissory from my lord of London, and under no church censure from his lordship; and would always read the church prayers, if the clergy would give me the use of their churches.—I added farther, that a minister's pulpit was looked upon as his freehold, and that I knew one clergyman who had denied his own diocesan the use of his pulpit. But I told his excellency, I was satisfied with the liberty he allowed me, and would not act con-

trary to his injunction. I then begged leave to be dismissed, because I was obliged to preach at eleven o'clock. His excellency said he intended to do himself the pleasure to hear me: at eleven the church-bell rung. The church-bible, prayer-book, and cushion, were sent to the town-house. The governor, several of the council, the minister of the parish, and assembly-men, with a great number of the town's-people, assembled in great order. I was very sick, through a cold I caught last night; but read the church-prayers. The first lesson was the 15th chapter of the 1st book of Samuel. I preached on those words: "Righteousness exalteth a nation." Being weak and faint, and afflicted much with the head-ach, I did not do that justice to my subject, I sometimes am enabled to do; but the Lord so helped me, that, as I found afterwards, the governor and the other gentlemen expressed their approbation, and acknowledged they did not expect to be so well entertained. Not unto me, Lord! not unto me! but unto thy free grace be all the glory!

"After sermon, Dr. F——bs, and Mr. P——t, the collector, came to me, and desired me to favour them and the gentlemen of the town with my company to dinner. I accepted the invitation. The governor and the president, and judge Bascom was there. All wondered at my speaking so freely and fluently, without notes. The governor asked, whether I used minutes? I answered, no. He said it was a great gift. At table, his excellency introduced something of religion, by asking me the meaning of the word HADES? Several other things were started about free-will, Adam's fall, predestination, &c. to all which God enabled me to answer so pertinently, and taught me to mix the *utile* and *dulce* so together, that all at table seemed highly pleased, shook me by the hand, and invited me to their respective houses. The governor, in particular, asked

me to dine with him on the morrow; and Dr. F——bs, one of his particular intimates, invited me to drink tea in the afternoon. I thanked all, returned proper respects, and went to my lodgings with some degree of thankfulness for the assistance vouchsafed me, and abased before God at the consideration of my unspeakable unworthiness. In the afternoon, about five o'clock, I expounded the parable of the prodigal son to many people at a private house; and in the evening had liberty to speak freely and closely to those that supped with me. O that this may be the beginning of good gospel times to the inhabitants of this town! Lord, teach me to deal prudently with them, and cause them to melt under thy word!

"Friday, April 8. Preached yesterday with great clearness and freedom, to about fourscore people, at a house on David's Island, over against St. George's town—went and lay at Mr. Holiday's, who came in a boat to fetch me—and this day I heard him preach and read prayers; after which I took the sacrament from him. Honest man! he would have made me administer and officiate; but I chose not to do it, lest I should bring him into trouble after my departure. However, in the afternoon, I preached at Mr. Todd's, in the same parish, to a very large company indeed. The Lord was with me. My heart was warm—and what went from the heart, I trust went to the heart; for many were affected. O that they may be converted also! Then will it be a good Friday, indeed, to their souls.

"Sunday, April 10. Dined and conversed yesterday very agreeably with judge Bascom, who seems to have the greatest insight into the difference between Arminian and Calvinistical schemes, of any one I have met with upon the island.—In the afternoon, I visited a paralytic; and this day preached twice again at Mr. Paul's meeting-house. The congregations were rather larger than ever,

and the power of God seemed to be more amongst them. I think I see a visible alteration for the better every Lord's-day. Blessed be God!—In the evening I expounded at Mr. Joseph Dorrell's, where I dined, to a very large company: then went to his kinsman's, my usual lodging on Saturday and Sunday evenings; who with his wife and other friends, seemed kinder and kinder daily. Good measure pressed down, and running over! May the Lord, both as to spirituals and temporals, return into all their bosoms!

"Saturday, April 16. Preached since Lord's-day, at five different houses, to concerned and affected congregations, at different parts of the island; but was more indisposed one night after going to bed, than I had been for some time. On two of the days of this week, I dined with the president, and captain Spafford, one of the council, both of whom entertained me with the utmost civility.

"Sunday, April 17. Still God magnifies his power and goodness more and more. This morning we had a pleasing sight at Mr. Paul's meeting-house. I began to preach, and the people to hear and be affected as in days of old at home. Indeed, the prospect is encouraging. Praise the Lord, O my soul!—After preaching twice to a large congregation in the meeting-house, I, at the desire of the parents, preached in the evening a sermon at the funeral of a little boy, about five years of age. A great number of people attended, and the Lord enabled me so to speak, as to affect many of the hearers. Blessed be the Lord for this day's work! Not unto me, O Lord! not unto me, but unto thy free grace be all the glory!

"Sunday, April 24. The last week being rainy, I preached only five times in private houses; and this day but once in the meeting-house; but I hope neither times without effect. This evening expounded at coun-

sellor Riddle's, who with the other gentlemen, treat me with greater respect every day. Colonel Gilbert, one of the council, has lent me his horse, during my stay; and Mr. Dorrell, this morning, informed me of a design the gentlemen had, to raise a contribution to help me to discharge my arrears, and support my orphan family. Thanks be given to thy name, O God! Thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I want to owe no man any thing, but love; and provide for Bethesda, after my decease. Thou hast promised thou wilt fulfil the desire of them that fear thee. I believe, Lord help my unbelief, that thou wilt fulfil this desire of my soul. Even so. Amen!

"Saturday, April 30. Preached since Lord's-day, two funeral sermons, and at five different houses in different parts of the island, to still larger and larger auditories, and perceived the people to be affected more and more. Twice or thrice I preached without doors. Riding in the sun, and preaching very earnestly, a little fatigued one; so that this evening I was obliged to lie down for some time. Faint, yet pursuing, must be my motto still.

"Sunday, May 1. This morning was a little sick; but I trust God gave us a happy beginning of the new month. I preached twice with power, especially in the morning, to a very great congregation in the meeting-house; and in the evening, having given previous notice, I preached about four miles distant, in the fields, to a large company of negroes, and a number of white people who came to hear what I had to say to them. I believe in all, near fifteen hundred people. As the sermon was intended for the negroes, I gave the auditory warning, that my discourse would be chiefly directed to them, and that I should endeavour to imitate the example of Elijah, who, when he was about to raise the child, contracted himself to its length. The negroes seemed very sensible,

and attentive. When I asked, if they all did not desire to go to heaven? one of them, with a very audible voice said, 'Yes, sir.' This caused a little smiling; but in general, every thing was carried on with great decency; and I believe the Lord enabled me so to discourse, as to touch the negroes, and yet not to give them the least umbrage to slight, or behave imperiously to their masters. If ever a minister in preaching, need the wisdom of the serpent to be joined with the harmlessness of the dove, it must be when discoursing to negroes. Vouchsafe me this favour, O God, for thy dear Son's sake!

"Monday, May 2. Upon enquiry, I found that some of the negroes did not like my preaching, because I told them of their cursing, swearing, thieving, and lying. One or two of the worst of them, as I was informed, went away. Some said, they would not go any more. They liked Mr. M——r better, for he never told them of these things; and I said, their hearts were as black as their faces. They expected, they said, to hear me speak against their masters. Blessed be God, that I was directed not to say any thing, this first time, to the masters at all, though my text led me to it. It might have been of bad consequences, to tell them their duty, or charge them too roundly with the neglect of it, before their slaves. They would mind all I said to their masters, and, perhaps, nothing that I said to them. Every thing is beautiful in its season. Lord, teach me always that due season, wherever I am called, to give either black or white a portion of thy word! However, others of the poor creatures, I hear were very thankful, and came home to their master's houses, saying, that they would strive to sin no more. Poor hearts! These different accounts affected me; and upon the whole, I could not help rejoicing, to find that their consciences were so far awake.

" Saturday, May, 7. In my conversation these two days, with some of my friends, I was diverted much, in hearing several things that passed among the poor negroes, since my preaching to them last Sunday. One of the women, it seems, said, ' that if the book I preached out of, was the best book that was ever bought at London, she was sure it had never all that in it, which I spoke to the negroes.' The old man, who spoke out loud last Sunday, and said, ' yes,' when I asked them whether all the negroes would not go to heaven? Being questioned by somebody, why he spoke out so? Answered, ' that the gentleman put the question once or twice to them, and the other fools had not the manners to make me any answer; till, at last, I seemed to point at him, and he was ashamed that nobody should answer me, and therefore he did.' Another, wondering why I said, negroes had black hearts; was answered by his black brother thus; ' Ah, thou fool! dost thou not understand it? He means black with sin.' Two more girls were overheard by their mistress, talking about religion: and they said, ' they knew, if they did not repent, they must be damned.' From all which I infer, that these Bermudas negroes are more knowing than I supposed; that their consciences are awake, and consequently prepared in a good measure, for hearing the gospel preached unto them.

" Sunday, May 8. This also, I trust, has been a good Sabbath. In the morning I was helped to preach powerfully to a melting, and rather a larger congregation than ever, in Mr. Paul's meeting-house; and in the evening, to almost as large a congregation of black and white as last Sunday in the fields, near my hearty friend, Mr. Holiday's house. To see so many black faces was affecting. They heard very attentively, and some of them now began to weep. May God grant them a godly sorrow, that worketh repentance not to be repented of!

"Friday, May 13. This afternoon preached over the corpse of Mr. Paul's eldest son, about twenty-four years of age; and by all I could hear, and judge of by conversing with him, he did indeed die in the Lord. I visited him twice last Lord's-day, and was quite satisfied with what he said, though he had not much of the sensible presence of God. I find he was a preacher upon his death-bed: for he exhorted all his companions to love Christ in sincerity; and blessed his brother and sister, and, I think, his father and mother, just before his departure. A great many people attended the funeral. I preached on Luke viii. 13. 'And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, weep not.' Many were affected in the application of my discourse; and, I trust, some will be induced, by this young man's good example, to remember their Redeemer in the days of their youth. Grant it, O Lord, for thy dear Son's sake.

"Sunday, May 15. Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name! This morning I preached my farewell sermon at Mr. Paul's meeting-house—it was quite full; and, as the president said, above one hundred and fifty whites, besides blacks, were round the house. Attention sat on every face; and when I came to take my leave, Oh! what a sweet unaffected weeping was there to be seen every where. I believe there were few dry eyes. The negroes, likewise without doors, I heard weep plentifully. My own heart was affected; and though I have parted with friends so often, yet I find every fresh partnig almost unmans me, and very much affects my heart. Surely, a great work is begun in some souls at Bermudas. Carry it on, O Lord! and if it be thy will, send me to this dear people again. Even so, Lord Jesus. Amen!

"After sermon, I dined with three of the council, and other gentlemen and ladies, at captain Bascom's; and

from thence we went to a funeral, at which Mr. M——r preached: and after that, I expounded on our Lord's transfiguration, at the house of one Mrs. Harvey, sister to dear Mr. Smith, of Charlestown. The house was exceeding full, and it was supposed above three hundred stood in the yard. The Lord enabled me to lift up my voice like a trumpet. Many wept. Mr. M——r returned from the funeral with me, and attended the lecture; as did the three counsellors, with whom I conversed freely. May God reward them, and all the dear people of the island, for those many favours conferred on me, who am the chief of sinners, and less than the least of all saints!

"Sunday, May 22. Blessed be God! the little leaven thrown into the three measures of meal, begins to ferment, and work almost every day for the week past. I have conversed with souls loaded with a sense of their sins; and, as far as I can judge, really pricked to the heart. I preached only three times, but to almost three times larger auditories than usual. Indeed the fields are white ready unto harvest. God has been pleased to bless private visits. Go where I will, upon the least notice, houses are crowded, and the poor souls that follow, are soon drenched in tears. This day I took, as it were, another farewell. As the ship did not sail, I preached at Somerset in the morning to a large congregation in the fields; and expounded in the evening, at Mr. Harvey's house, round which, stood many hundreds of people. But in the morning and evening, how did the poor souls weep! Abundance of prayers and blessings were put up for my safe passage to England, and speedy return to Bermudas again. May they enter into the ears of the Lord of Sabbath! With all humility and thankfulness of heart, will I here, O Lord, set up my *Ebenezer:* for hitherto surely thou hast helped me! Thanks be to the Lord for sending me hither. I have

been received in a manner I dared not expect; and have met with little, very little opposition, indeed. The inhabitants seem to be plain and open-hearted. They have loaded me with provisions for my sea-store; and in the several parishes, by a private voluntary contribution, have raised me upwards of ONE HUNDRED POUNDS sterling. This will pay a little of Bethesda's debt, and enable me to make such a remittance to my dear yoke-fellow, as may keep her from being embarrassed, or too much beholden in my absence. Blessed be God, for bringing me out of my embarrassment by degrees! May the Lord reward all my benefactors a thousand-fold! I hear that what was given, was given exceedingly heartily; and people only lamented that they could do no more."*

Transmitting to Georgia the contributions he had received, and fearing a relapse if he had returned to America in the heat of the summer; and also being much pressed to return to England, Mr. Whitefield took his passage in a brig, and arrived safe in twenty-eight days at Deal; and the next evening, July 6, he came to London, having been absent near four years.

* Bermudas is placed by itself in almost the middle of the Atlantic ocean. It has been justly celebrated by Waller the poet, and the late bishop Berkeley, who resided there for some time.

CHAP. XIII.

From his arrival in London 1748, *to his going to Ireland in the year* 1751.

ON Mr. Whitefield's visiting a few of his friends, immediately after his return, he found himself in no very agreeable situation. His congregation at the Tabernacle was sadly scattered. And as to his outward circumstances, he had sold all his houshold furniture, to help to pay the orphan-house debt, which yet was far from being cancelled. But under all these discouragements, he was still supported. His congregation was soon recruited, and received him with the greatest joy. And at this time a very unexpected thing happened to him. The countess of Huntingdon,* before his arrival,

* Among the illustrious characters of our time, none has shone more conspicuous in the religious world, than the late excellent countess of Huntingdon, whose praise is in all the churches. The eminence and usefulness of such a woman, cannot but make her memory dear to surviving friends: and her reputation having reached to thousands, who never were blessed by her acquaintance, all will be anxious to know something of a woman so famous in her day and generation. I have for some time employed my time, and I hope not unprofitably for myself and the church of God, in collecting and arranging a memoir of her ladyship's faithful services, and the great success attending them. The narrative is interspersed with Biographical Sketches of several eminent persons—the Rev. Messrs. Romaine, Venn, Jones, Scott, Wills, Fletcher, Penticross, &c. &c. &c. and will exhibit, I hope, several characters of exalted excellence, striving together for the hope of the gospel. I am indebted for information to many of my friends. And I solicit all who loved

had ordered Mr. Howel Harris to bring him to her house at Chelsea, as soon as he came on shore. He went, and having preached twice, the countess wrote to him, that several of the nobility desired to hear him. In a few days the earl of Chesterfield, and a whole circle of them attended; and having heard once, desired they might hear him again. "I therefore preached again," says he, "in the evening, and went home, never more surprised at any incident in my life. All behaved quite well, and were in some degree affected. The earl of Chesterfield thanked me, and said, 'Sir, I will not tell you what I shall tell others, how I approve of you;' or words to that purpose. At last lord Bolingbroke* came to hear, sat like an archbishop, and was pleased to say, 'I had done great justice to the divine attributes in my discourse.' Soon afterwards her ladyship removed to town, where I preached generally twice a week to

her when living, and still revere her memory, to send me any particulars with which they are acquainted, that I may be able more explicitly to detail the eventful periods of a life so long spent in doing good.

* This celebrated Infidel and Tory, was one day reading Calvin's Institutions. A clergyman (the Rev. Mr. Church, who died curate of Battersea) of his lordship's acquaintance coming in on a visit, lord B. said to him, "You have caught me reading John Calvin; he was indeed a man of great parts, profound sense, and vast learning; he handles the doctrines of grace in a very masterly manner."——"Doctrines of grace," replied the clergyman! "the doctrines of grace have set all mankind together by the ears."—"I am surprised to hear you say so;" answered lord B. "you who profess to believe and to preach christianity. Those doctrines are certainly the doctrines of the Bible: and, if I believe the Bible, I must believe them. And, let me seriously tell you, that the greatest miracle in the world is the subsistence of christianity, and its continued preservation, as a religion, when the preaching of it is committed to the care of such unchristian wretches as you." This anecdote was told to the Rev. Augustus Montague Toplady, at Bath, July 30, 1775, by the countess of Huntingdon, who had it from lord Bolingbroke's own mouth.

very brilliant auditories. Blessed be God, not without effectual success on some."*

In September, 1748, he visited Scotland the third time, and was received with a hearty welcome. Multitudes crowded to hear him, both at Edinburgh and Glasgow. "I have reason," says he,† "to believe some have been awakened, and many quickened and comforted. My old friends are more solidly so than ever; and a foundation, I trust, has been laid for doing much good, if ever the Lord should call me thither again. Two synods‡

* M.S. and Letter 673.

† Letter 700.

‡ He means the Synods of Glasgow and Perth, and the Presbytery of Edinburgh. What happened in the Synod of Glasgow, may be seen in a pamphlet, entitled, "A Fair and Impartial Account of the Debate in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, 6th October, 1748, anent employing Mr. Whitefield:" published at Edinburgh the same year, and supposed to be written by the Rev. Dr. Erskine, who was then minister at Kirkintilloch. The short history of the matter is this. A motion was made, tending to prohibit or discourage ministers from employing Mr. Whitefield. The speeches made in support of the motion, were upon the following topics: His being a priest of the church of England. That he had not subscribed the *Formula*. His imprudencies. Chimerical scheme of the orphan-house. Want of evidence, that the money he collects is rightly applied. Asserting that assurance is essential to faith. Encouraging a dependance on impulses and immediate revelations. Declaring, on slender evidence, some people converted, and others carnal and unregenerated. Often, indeed, pretending to repent of his blunders, and retract; but as often relapsing into them. And lastly, his being under a sentence of suspension by commissary Garden, from which he had appealed to the High Court of Chancery, and made oath to prosecute that appeal in a twelve-month; and yet it was never prosecuted.

On the other hand, the ministers who were against the motion, spoke in this manner. "I blush to think," said one, "that any of our brethren should befriend a proposal, so contrary to that moderation and catholic spirit, which now is, and I hope ever shall be the glory of our church. I am sensible, many things in the church of England need reformation; but I honour her, notwithstanding, as our sister church. If bishop Butler, bishop Secker, or bishop Sherlock, were in Scotland,

and one presbytery, brought me upon the carpet; but all has worked for good."

I should welcome them to my pulpit. In this I should imitate Mr. Samuel Rutherford, as firm a Presbyterian as any of us, who yet employed archbishop Usher. There is no law of Christ, no act of assembly, prohibiting me to give my pulpit to an Episcopal, Independent, or Baptist minister, if of sound principles in the fundamentals of religion, and of a sober life. Our church expressly enjoins, Act xiii. (April 1711.) that great tenderness is to be used to foreign Protestants. The requiring strangers to subscribe our *Formula*, before they preach with us, would lay as effectual a bar against employing those of congregational principles or Presbyterian non-subscribers, as those of the church of England."

"As to Mr. Whitefield," said another, "there are few ministers whose character has been so well attested, by the most competent judges, both at home and abroad. One thing I cannot but observe: those who have spoken most warmly against Mr. Whitefield in this debate, acknowledge they have made little or no enquiry into his character: whereas those on the other side, have made a very careful enquiry; and that enquiry has turned out entirely to their satisfaction. With regard to his imprudencies, there is a great difference between blunders owing to a bad heart, and those that are owing only to a misinformed judgment; especially when the mistakes that occasioned them, have misled several great and good men. Whether Mr. Whitefield's scheme of the orphan-house be prudent or not, it is demonstrable it was honestly meant. The magistrates of Savannah published three years ago, in the Philadelphia Gazette, an affidavit that they had carefully examined Mr. Whitefield's receipts and disbursements, and found that what he had collected in behalf of the orphans, had been honestly applied; and that besides, he had given considerably to them of his own property. As to his maintaining, that assurance is essential to faith, encouraging an unwarrantable regard to impressions; and being too hasty in pronouncing men carnal or converted; his sentiments in these particulars, have been altered for upwards of two years. And now he scarce preaches a sermon, without guarding his hearers against relying on impressions, and telling them that faith, and a persuasion we are justified, are very different things, and that a holy life is the best evidence of a gracious state. These retractions are owing to a real change of sentiment. Letters from correspondents in New England shew, that this change is, at least, of two years debate, and that ever since it happened, he has preached and acted with remarkable caution. Lastly, with respect to the prosecution of his appeal; Mr. Whitefield exerted himself to the utmost to get his appeal heard, but

While he was in Scotland, he endeavoured to do all the service he could to the New Jersey College, and in conjunction with some ministers who wished well to the institution, advised the sending over a minister from America, to make application in person :* which was afterwards done in the year 1754, when application was made by Mr. Tennant and Mr. Davies to the assembly, who appointed a general collection.

Mr. Whitefield's thoughts were now engaged on a plan for making his orphan-house, which was at first intended only for the reception of poor fatherless children, a seminary of literature and academical learning. He thought such an institution was much wanted in America. And which, if properly conducted, would render very essential service to the colony. In consequence of which, on his return to England, he signified his intention, by letter to the trustees, if they would be pleased

could not prevail on the Lord's Commissioners so much as once to meet on the affair: they, no doubt, thinking of commissary Garden's arbitrary proceedings with the contempt they deserved. But say some, 'Mr. Whitefield being under a suspension not yet reversed, is now no minister.' But for what was he suspended? Why, for no other crime, than omitting to use the form of prayer prescribed in the communion-book, when officiating in a presbyterian congregation. And shall a meeting of Presbyterian ministers pay any regard to a sentence which had such a foundation?"

The issue of the debate was a rejecting of the motion by vote, 47 to 13; and a resolution which was so exprest as to be a decent burial of it; laying no new restriction on ministers from inviting strangers, but leaving things precisely as they were before. And they who chose to give Mr. Whitefield their pulpit, never after met with any molestation. Upon the whole, the attacks made on Mr. Whitefield's character, proved the occasion of informing the Synod of the falshood of many aspersions thrown out against him, of the great increase of his prudence and caution, and the remarkable change of his sentiments and behaviour, so far as either were offensive. And then what was intended for his reproach, turned out to his honour.

* See his Letters on the subject to Mr. M'Laurin. Letters 1334 and 1368.

to alter the government of the colony, and permit a limited use of negroes; for otherwise, it was his opinion, that Georgia would never become a flourishing province.* In the mean time, he travelled, preached every where as usual, meeting with great success during the winter.

In February, 1749, he made an excursion to Exeter† and Plymouth, where he was agreeably surprized to find a great alteration in the people, since his last visit to those parts, about five years before. He was received by his late converts as an angel of God; and by none more cordially than the Rev. Andrew Kinsman;‡ at whose

* Letter 1214.

† When Mr. Whitefield was preaching at Exeter, a man was present who had loaded his pockets with stones, in order to fling them at that eminently precious ambassador of Christ. He heard his prayer, however, with patience: but no sooner had he named his text, than the man pulled a stone out of his pocket, and held it in his hand, waiting for a fair opportunity to throw it. But God sent a word to his heart, and the stone dropped from his hand. After sermon he went to Mr. Whitefield and told him, "Sir, I came to hear you this day, with a view to break your head; but the spirit of God, through your ministry, has given me a broken heart." The man proved to be a sound convert, and lived an ornament to the gospel. Such power belongeth unto God!

‡ The Rev. Andrew Kinsman was born at Tavistock, in the county of Devon, November 17, 1724. His childhood and youth were marked by a disposition and manners mild and engaging, together with a behaviour to his parents peculiarly dutiful. He was, however, unacquainted with the religion of the gospel, until he had attained his seventeenth year, when providentially meeting with a volume of Mr. Whitefield's Sermons, one of these on the New-birth was greatly blessed as a mean of informing his judgment, and alarming his conscience. Having but a few spiritual friends to converse with, he continued for some time in a state of suspense, relative to his interest in divine things, and was uncertain whether he was actually renewed in the spirit of his mind. But God, who heareth the sorrowful sighing of the prisoner, at length gave him the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.

house he resided during the present, and every subsequent visit. From this time Mr. Kinsman became

His gloomy and tormenting fears being happily dissipated, and his heart exulting in the grace of God his Saviour, he was soon impressed with an ardent concern, to interest the attention of his relations to these important objects. Their great indifference, even to the form of godliness, gave frequent occasion to many strong cries and tears to God in secret, that Christ might be formed in their hearts, the hope of glory. But being unable to suppress his feelings any longer, he one evening exclaimed, with an effectual emotion, as they were retiring to their chambers, "What! shall we go to bed without prayer? How do we know but some of us may wake in hell before morning?" By this unexpected address, the family were seized with a solemn awe; and while they looked on each other with conscious shame, for the neglect of so obvious a duty, he fell upon his knees, and prayed with that readiness and fervour, which greatly excited their astonishment.

Nor was his anxiety confined to their spiritual welfare; for his heart's desire was, that his neighbours might also participate of the unsearchable riches of Christ. He therefore shortly began to read Mr. Whitefield's Sermons to as many as would attend; and supposed with Melancthon, that what had proved so singular a blessing to himself, would not fail to produce similar effects on them, as soon as they were heard. Continuing to read the works of eminent divines for some time, the small company who attended these exercises, perceiving him to be a youth of promising abilities, encouraged him to cultivate them, by the study and delivery of his own discourses. After repeated solicitations he was prevailed upon; and his first essay of this nature, was from Ezekiel xxxvii. 3. "Son of Man, can these bones live? and I answered, O Lord God, thou knowest." He used to speak of this as a season peculiarly solemn and affecting. The Lord encouraged these his early efforts, by giving him many seals to his ministry, among whom were his father, mother, and three sisters.

About this period, Mr. Whitefield, in one of his voyages to America, was obliged, by an unexpected occurrence, to repair to Plymouth, where he had never been before, to secure himself a passage in a ship about to sail from that port. Here according to his usual custom, he embraced the first opportunity of preaching to the inhabitants. He had not delivered many discourses, before a gracious Providence preserved him from being assassinated, and at the same time, over-ruled the horrid attempt of his enemies, to the furtherance of the gospel. (See chapter X. page 68) Intelligence of these circumstances being circulated around the adjacent country, Mr. Kinsman fled with

intimately acquainted, and closely connected with Mr. Whitefield; for whom he retained the most filial

great eagerness to hear him. Being introduced after sermon to his company, he prevailed on him to visit Tavistock. But the opposition he there met with was so violent, as to excite such a deep-rooted antipathy in the mind of Mr. Kinsman, to his native town, that he resolved to reside in it no longer. Having removed to Plymouth, he, at the age of about twenty-one, commenced an acquaintance with Miss Ann Tiley, with whom he was united in marriage, in the year 1745. She was a very spiritual and zealous christian; and, with many others, had been converted under Mr. Whitefield's ministry, while he was detained there through the delays of the convoy. By her he had four children, Ann, Andrew, John, and George; the two former of whom still survive, and are members of the religious community over which he presided.

At Plymouth God gave testimony to the word of his grace. The congregations rapidly increased; and many were "added to the church of such as should be saved." A large place of worship was shortly after erected, called "The Tabernacle," towards the erection of which, Mr. Kinsman generously contributed. This place was chiefly supplied by Mr. Whitefield's colleagues, the Rev. Messrs. Cennick, Adams, Middleton, &c. &c. who were kindly entertained under Mr. Kinsman's roof, free of any expence to themselves, or the infant cause.

As Plymouth Dock, about two miles from Plymouth, became increasingly populous; and as there was no place of worship in all the town to accommodate the inhabitants, except the little chapel in the King's Yard, Mr. Kinsman considered this circumstance as a fit occasion to diffuse among them the savour of the knowledge of Christ. He began to preach out of doors, and continued this practise for some time, amidst the most violent persecutions; being frequently obliged to fly for his life; and often expected that before the ensuing morning, his dwelling-house at Plymouth would be demolished. At times he has been surrounded by eight or nine drums from the military, to drown his voice.

But amidst this formidable opposition, his strength was equal to his day. *Now* Providence would soften his adversaries into pity, and thereby divert them from their evil purposes; *then* would fortify him with courage to withstand the united efforts of an outrageous mob. Once in particular, at Dock, a person of considerable fortune hired a number of men to interrupt his preaching. On arriving at the spot, they were so moved by his engaging address, that they not only desisted from their design, but directed their vengeance against their mischievous employer, who with difficulty escaped with his life; and so

affection to his dying day; frequently travelled with, and consulted him as a father upon all his religious concerns.

exemplified the words of David, "His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate."

At another time, when the congregation was assembled in Plymouth Tabernacle, it was disturbed by a lieutenant of the navy; who came with a part of his crew, armed for a desperate assault. Having broken the windows, they entered the place in a body. Their first attempt was to extinguish the lights, and then to fall upon the people; but a person perceiving their design, drew up the chandelier to the ceiling of the building. Baffled in this project, they fell upon the people, without regard either to age or sex, and beat them with their bludgeons in a merciless manner.

The worship being interrupted, a general alarm and outcry of murder ensued. At this instant Mr. Kinsman, by an extraordinary effort, throwing himself into the midst of the throng, seized the lieutenant, the ringleader of the rioters: and as he was drawing his sword upon him, wrested it from his hand. No exertion on the side of the rioters could force Mr. Kinsman to quit his hold of the lieutenant; and by main strength, in the heat of the rencounter, he drew him out of the Tabernacle into the yard, where the same scene of confusion was continued. Here the lieutenant made many violent struggles to disengage himself—lost his laced-hat—and had his clothes considerably torn in the attempt. But Mr. Kinsman preserved his hold, dragged him into his dwelling-house, and carried him off through the front door to the magistrate. Both parties were now at a loss to discover what was become of their champions. Mr. Kinsman's friends were almost distracted, supposing he had been carried off by the rioters, and torn piece-meal. But they were soon agreeably disappointed. The lieutenant conducted himself with great insolence before the magistrate, who committed him to the watch-house, where he lay all night. Being brought before him again the next morning, he acknowledged his offences, engaged to repair all damages, and make such other concessions as the injured party might require. Mr. Kinsman having obtained his object, and being unwilling to injure the cause of religion in the esteem of the world, by a spirit of inexorable resentment, acceded to his proposals, and he was accordingly dismissed; nor was he ever after called upon by Mr. Kinsman or his friends, to fulfil his engagements

Having procured a private house in Dock, he preached the first time to about sixteen persons; but the congregations rapidly

Multitudes crowded to hear him; and many gave proofs of a solid conversion to God. "Now," says he, "Plymouth seems to be quite a new place to me." As his health was impaired in London, he loved to range, as he calls it, after precious souls. Yet he never wished to form a new sect, or strove to become the head of a party. "I have seen enough of popularity," says he,

increased; and in the year 1752, a meeting-house was erected, which, by the blessing of God upon his ministry, was obliged to be enlarged six or seven times; and now measures sixty-four by sixty feet.

He was now called out to itinerate frequently in many counties in the kingdom; and his peculiar abilities attracted general attention, which, together with the affability of his manners, the uncommon cheerfulness of his disposition, and his great usefulness, raised him to a high degree of esteem wherever he went. Nor was he less respected, nor his ministry attended with less general good, at Bristol and London—cities to which he was invited by Mr. Whitefield; who used to call Bristol, Mr. Kinsman's *America*, alluding to his own popularity and success in that quarter of the world.

Mr. Whitefield being about to sail for America, sent for him to London. On his arrival he was introduced, and dined with him at the Tabernacle-house, in company with a young clergyman. After dinner there was a most tremendous storm of thunder and lightning. As they stood at the window below the raging elements, Mr. Kinsman, supposing the clergyman, from his being a visitant to Mr. Whitefield, to be a serious person, familiarly put his hand upon his shoulder, and, with great cheerfulness and energy, repeated the words of Dr. Watts:—

"The God that rules on high
And thunders when he please;
That rides upon the stormy sky,
And manages the seas,—"

And then, with peculiar pathos and confidence, added,

"This awful God is ours,
Our Father and our Love!"

The words so appositely introduced, so solemnly and so emphatically delivered, made a deep impression on the mind of the young clergyman, and began a conversation, which, by the blessing of God, ended in his saving conversion.

(Letter 1247,) "to be sick of it; and did not the interest of my blessed Master require my appearing in public, the world should hear but little of me henceforward." Notwithstanding, his zeal abated not. "I dread the

Here his ministry was greatly owned; and he thought himself highly honoured in preaching the first sermon that ever was delivered from the pulpit of the present Tabernacle. His harmonious voice, his sprightly and pathetic manner of address, brought no small number of all ranks to hear him; among whom was Shuter, the celebrated comedian, who, having been excited by curiosity to hear Mr. Whitefield, was so affected with his preaching, that at one time there were hopes of his being under serious impressions. Having also heard Mr. Kinsman, he was so delighted with him, that he frequently visited him. But the lamentable immorality that pervades the stage, the scoffs of ridicule from men of considerable influence, and the contemptuous insinuations of the profane, that most dangerous and destructive method of attack to which Mr. Shuter was, by his profession, particularly exposed, soon operated as a foil to those rising hopes that were entertained concerning him, and, as blasts, swept away those promising and blooming flowers.

Some years after, having forgot where he lived, accidentally meeting Mr. Kinsman at Plymouth, he embraced him with rapture, and enquired if that was the place of his residence? He replied, "Yes; but I am just returned from London, where I have preached so often, and to such large auditories, and have been so indisposed, that Dr. Fothergill advised my immediate return to the country, for change of air." "And I," said Mr. Shuter, "have been acting Sir John Falstaff so often, that I thought I should have died; and the physicians advised *me* to come into the country for the benefit of the air. Had *you* died, it would have been serving the best of Masters; but had *I*, it would have been in the service of the devil. Oh, Sir, do you think I shall ever be called again? I certainly was when I was studying my part in the park; and if Mr. Whitefield had let me come to the Lord's Table with him, I never should have gone back again. But the caresses of the great are exceedingly ensnaring. My lord E—— sent for me to-day; and I was glad I could not go. Poor things! they are unhappy, and they want Shuter to make them laugh. But, O Sir! such a life as yours!—As soon as I leave you, I shall be king Richard. This is what they call a good play, as good as some sermons. I acknowledge there are some striking and moral things in it. But after it, I shall come in again with my farce of *A Dish of all Sorts* and knock all that on the head. Fine

thoughts of flagging in the latter stage of my road," was an expression used in his letters to his friends. (Letters 1287, 1397, and 1421.) He was often indisposed;

reformers are we!" The inhabitants afterward taking notice that he visited Mr. Kinsman, were astonished; and one gentleman in particular, asked him, if he were a Methodist? "Mine is a fine method, is it not? No; I wish I was. If any are right, they are."

Mr. Kinsman once preaching in London on the Lord's-day, a heavy and unexpected shower of rain coming on, several Sabbath-breakers passing by at that instant, fled into the Tabernacle for shelter. Among these, was a young man who was personally acquainted with Mr. Kinsman at Plymouth. Seeing him in the pulpit, he immediately resolved to wait the conclusion of the service, and enquire after the welfare of his relations. This he accordingly did—to whom Mr. Kinsman replied, with his usual affability, "Your good aunt and religious mother are both lately gone to heaven; but which way are you going? What will your pious mother say, if she should miss her William there?"—Though the sermon had not the least effect, this sentence struck him to the heart; and God made it the means of his conversion. He afterwards became a very valuable member of the church at Dock, and died an Israelite indeed! Some years after, his youngest son, a wild young man, marrying, and having a child, applied to Mr. Kinsman to baptize it. Mr. K. having some knowledge of his character, told him, he would baptize his child for the grandfather's sake; and then began to relate the striking circumstance of his father's conversion. This so affected the young man, that from *that* time he became serious; and is now a member of the same church at Dock.

At Plymouth and Dock his preaching was still attended with remarkable success, particularly among young persons. At length the repeated solicitations of the people induced him to limit the sphere of his operations, and except his visits to London and Bristol, his labours were chiefly confined to the above places.

In the year 1763, the society at Dock becoming very numerous, wished to be formed into a regular church. They therefore gave Mr. Kinsman an unanimous call to take the oversight of them; and he having accepted it, was set apart to the pastoral office at Broadmead, in Bristol, August 4th, by the Rev. Benjamin Fawcett of Kidderminster; the Rev. George Powel of Weathersfield; the Rev. Jeremiah Field of Wellington, Somerset; the Rev. Hugh Evans, and the Rev. John Thoman of Bristol. In the year 1771, he went to reside wholly at Dock; until which

but he thought that travelling and preaching did him good. "Fear not your weak body," says he in Letter 1330, to the Rev. James Hervey,—"we are immortal

period he never received any pecuniary consideration for his services; nor did he, in the whole course of his ministry at Plymouth, never having required any.

After his settlement in the pastoral office, Providence raised up several of the members of the church to assist in preaching, particularly the Rev. Robert Heath, now of Rodborough. But these being frequently called to labour in the adjacent towns and villages, and the state of Mr. Kinsman's health for many years, not admitting of his preaching three times on the Lord's-day, both places were obliged to be provided with regular assistants, the most distinguished of whom were: at Plymouth the Rev. Messrs. Dunn and Padden; at Dock, the Rev. Messrs. Jones and Lake; each of whom continued for some time in the exercise of his talents with success, until invited to the pastoral office of other places. After they were removed, a succession of ministers from the metropolis and other parts of the kingdom, regularly supplied the congregation, much upon the same plan with the London and Bristol Tabernacles. In January, 1792, dropsical symptoms began first to make their appearance in his legs, and left little hope to his friends of a long continuance among them. For the last twelve months he could do little more than preach two or three sermons; and it was with great difficulty he continued to administer the Lord's supper.

As he approached to the close of life, he would frequently look out of his chamber window, and on seeing multitudes flocking to the meeting, would say—"Thither I once led up the tribes of the Lord to worship." When anticipating his approaching dissolution, he would frequently adopt the confidential language of the pious Watts:—

"My God, my portion, and my love,
My everlasting all;
I've none but thee in heav'n above,
Or on this earthly ball!"

And that other well-known verse in the 17th Psalm:—

"O glorious hour! O bless'd abode!
I shall be near and like my God!
And Flesh and sin no more control
The sacred pleasures of the soul."

till our work is done. Christ's labourers must live by miracle—if not, I must not live at all; for God only knows what I daily endure; my continual vomitings almost kill me; and yet the pulpit is my cure—so that my friends begin to pity me less, and to leave off that ungrateful caution, 'spare thyself.' I speak this to encourage you."

In March 1749, he returned to London, having travelled about SIX HUNDRED MILES in the west, and to his satisfaction found that his former labours had been abundantly blessed.*

A few hours before he died, he said, "Oh how ill I am! but, my God, my life, my time, my all is in thy hands. On thee do I trust; in thee I can confide."

"A guilty, weak, and helpless worm,
On thy kind arms I fall;
Be thou my strength and righteousness,
My Jesus and my all!"

A short time before he died, Mrs. Kinsman asked him how he did. He replied with a a sweet serenity, "Still in the body."

"But in his dying countenance was seen
A smile, the index of a soul serene."

Continuing sensible, being almost gone, and scarcely able to articulate, he said, in a broken manner,

"Jesu, lover of my soul——"

Then smiled again, and without a sigh, fell asleep in the arms of that compassionate Jesus, whom he had ardently loved, and faithfully preached, for more than fifty years.

He died February 28, 1793, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

On the following Sabbath two funeral sermons were preached for him; one at Plymouth, by the Rev. Mr. Macall, from John v. 35—"He was a burning and a shining light." And the other at Dock, by the Rev. Matthew Wilks, of London, from Daniel xii. 3.—"They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."

* Letter 1243.

In May, he went to Portsmouth and Portsea,* where he preached to numerous and attentive audi-

* This town commenced with the last century; for in the year 1700 there were not more than a dozen of houses on the spot; and the parish of Portsea, as it is now called, exclusive of the neighbouring town of Portsmouth, did not contain 2000 inhabitants; but their number now amounts to 22,000 at least. At that time there was no other place of worship but the parish church; there are now twelve places devoted to the service of God.

About the year 1746, the Rev. John Cennick came to Portsea, and preached in the open air. He was followed by the Rev. Messrs. Adams, Meredith, and others, in connection with Mr. Whitefield, who himself, in 1749, visited the place, and preached in the fields to very numerous congregations. About this time several serious persons, some of whom were members of the Rev. Mr. Williams's church at Gosport, and others of the Rev. Mr. Norman's at Portsmouth, formed themselves into a society, and by a small weekly subscription, defrayed the expences of the preachers who visited them. Their number was considerably increased, by the divine blessing, on three visits paid them by Mr. Whitefield, and by the labours of other ministers. At length, in 1754, they erected a place of worship, fifty-three feet by thirty, which they called, "The Tabernacle." For about fifteen years the congregation was supplied by the Rev. Messrs. Adams, Croom, Vines, Hogg, Cornelius, Winter, and others; but this mode of supply proving inconvenient and expensive, they determined on having a regular minister; and being formed into a church, were providentially led to make choice of the Rev. Thomas Tuppen, to settle among them as their pastor. Mr. Tuppen commenced his stated labours at Portsea, in March 1769, and was well attended. In a letter to Mr. Whitefield, written the 30th of June, 1769, he says, "I have never preached on a Lord's-day, but on some parts of it, I have had five hundred hearers; many times double that number; and on the week days, never less than two or three hundred, which I think some encouragement; and there is reason to believe that the Lord owns and blesses his word; and that he has many people in this place."

Mr. Tuppen was born in the year 1742, at Brighthelmstone, in Sussex, where he was trained up by a sober, moral mother, in a strict attachment to the established church, the public ordinances of which he constantly attended on the Lord's-day, performing also some religious exercises at home: but, satisfied with the mere performance of religious duties, he remained totally ignorant of spiritual things, and destitute of any real concern for the salvation of his soul. When he arrived at the

tories. Many were savingly wrought upon—prejudices every where removed—and those who before calum-

age of sixteen, the seeds of natural corruption sprang up with vigour, and produced those fruits of actual transgression, which are too common at that dangerous period of life, unless prevented by the restraints of divine Providence, or the influences of divine grace. Becoming at this time his own master, more fully than before, by the removal of some of his friends to London, and associating with some very wicked companions, he was hurried on to the gratification of carnal appetites, with increasing eagerness, for about the space of two years.

But the Lord, who had chosen him to be a vessel of honour, to bear his name to gentile sinners, was pleased to send his highly favoured servant, the Rev. George Whitefield, to Brighton at this period. Induced by curiosity to hear a preacher of such peculiar fame, he attended a sermon out of doors, on a Friday evening, under a tree at the back of the White Lion Inn. But so far was he from previously wishing to derive any spiritual benefit from the sermon, that, as he confessed afterwards, he could gladly have joined the rabble in stoning him, or, at least, like Saul of Tarsus, have held the clothes of those who would. Mr. Whitefield's text was, Ezek. xxxiii. 11.—"Turn ye, turn ye." Under that sermon his malice was changed into admiration; he was convinced, that though young in years, he was a great sinner; that he had revolted from God, and must turn again to him, or perish. This sermon, and others delivered on the same visit, became the happy means of leading him to serious and earnest enquiries about salvation. His friends, who remained near him, were alarmed, and united to oppose his religious progress; while conscience, now awakened, so strongly charged him with sin, that he endured considerable distress. He was now fully satisfied that he could never help himself; and that, if ever he were saved, he must be an eternal debtor to free and sovereign grace. He continued in a state of mental bondage for near ten months; and though he joined himself to a little society of Christian friends, and constantly united with them in spiritual exercises, he found but transient relief from his burden, till, at one period, being about ten miles distant from home, his mind was set at liberty, and enjoyed the peace of the gospel.

In September, 1761, many of his relations having settled in London, he was induced to follow them; and, for a season, communicated with the society at the Tabernacle. At that time he resided in East Cheap, and being near the meeting-house, then occupied by the Rev. Mr. Elliot, who at that period frequently preached for Mr. Whitefield, attended his ministry for several years, and frequently heard the Rev. Mr. Hart there. In De-

niated and reviled him, wished him to continue with, and preach the gospel to them.*

* Letter 1251.

cember, 1767, on the death of a preacher, who assisted Mr. Elliott, he was requested, both by the minister and the church, to preach among them occasionally, which he did for a year or two.

He was then invited to officiate among a few serious people in a remote corner of Sussex: where he had not been long before he received an invitation from the society at Portsea, to settle among them. However, previous to his settlement, he was solemnly set apart to the pastoral office; when the Rev. Mr. Elliott of London, Rev. Dr. Samuel of Ramsey, Rev. Mr. Ashburner of Poole, Rev. Mr Lacey, Baptist minister of Portsea; Rev. Benjamin Francis of Horsley, Rev. Mr. Meadows of London, and Rev. Mr. Brown of Mitchell-Dean, engaged in the various services of the day.

By the blessing of the Lord on Mr. Tuppen's labours at Portsea, the congregation gradually increased; so that in the year 1773, the tabernacle was insufficient for their accommodation: it was therefore taken down, and a new house, sixty feet by forty, with three galleries, erected in its stead; which also was soon filled.

Some years after this, Mr Tuppen's health declined, and he found himself unable to sustain any longer the fatigue of preaching thrice on the Lord's-day. It was therefore determined by the church, that they should have but two sermons, namely, in the morning, and in the evening, during the summer season. But in November, 1784, Mr. Tuppen informed the church that he saw it was for their interest to have three sermons on the Sabbath; but as he was not equal to that service, thought it his duty to recommend to them to look out for another pastor. Early in the succeeding year, Mr. Tuppen preached his last sermon to them. He left the place with regret; and far the greater part of the people were affected in the same manner, though some indulged a hope of his resuming his labours among them again. Few ministers enjoyed a larger share of the affections of their people; but the Lord, it seems, intended him to become the instrument of laying the foundation of a greater work at Bath.

It was in the year 1780 that some serious persons in that city formed themselves into a body for public worship, according to the dissenting mode; but, in consequence of the smallness of their number, and the opposition they encountered, they with difficulty maintained the cause for four years, when Thomas Welch, Esq. of London, and some other Independents, exerted themselves in their favour, and engaged to look out for a suitable

June 24, he wrote thus from Bristol:—"Yesterday God brought me hear, after having carried me a circuit of about EIGHT HUNDRED MILES, and enabled me to preach, I suppose, to upwards of ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND SOULS. I have been in eight Welch counties; and, I think, we have not had one dry meeting. The work in Wales is much upon the advance, and likely to increase daily. Had my dear Mr. Henry been there, to have seen the simplicity of so many dear souls, I am persuaded he would have said, *sit anima mea cum methodistis.** After an excursion in July and August, on his return to London, he was visited by two German ministers, who had been preaching among the Jews; and were instrumental to the conversion of many of them.†

In the month of September, he went into Northamptonshire and Yorkshire; and preached at Oundle, Abberford, Leeds, and Haworth, where the pious Mr. Grimshaw,‡ that indefatigable servant of Christ,

pastor for them. Mr. Tuppen was the person to whom they applied; and in the year 1785 he arrived in Bath, when the congregation rapidly increased. From about twenty-five persons, who at first attended him, the number rose in a few years, to seven or eight hundred. The place in which they worshipped being too small for the congregation, a new one called Argyle Chapel was begun in 1789; and opened October 4, 1790. But his health was then so much reduced, that he was never able to preach a single sermon there; he could only attend the services of the day, which were performed by the Rev. William Jay, who has been the minister of the place ever since.

Mr. Tuppen, after a lingering illness, which he supported with great resignation and patience, entered into his rest on the 22d of February, 1791, aged forty eight.

* Letter 1262.

† Letter 1275.

‡ The Rev. William Grimshaw, A.B. was born September 3, 1708, at Brindle in Lancashire; and was educated at the schools of Blackburn and Heskin, in that county. In the eighteenth year of his age, he was admitted a member of Christ's College, in Cambridge: and here, as is but too usually the case,

was minister: in his church, they had above ONE THOUSAND communicants, and above SIX THOUSAND hearers in the church-yard. At Leeds, the congregation con-

bad example deplorably prevailed to seduce him from that decent manner of life, and those serious reflections, which had been inculcated upon him by his pious parents; for, at this time, having no real change wrought upon him, and consequently *having no root in himself*, the prevalent impiety of the college carried him away so far, that, for the space of more than two years, he seemed utterly to have lost all sense of religion and seriousness; nor was there any revival of his former impressions, till on the day he was ordained deacon, in the year 1731. On this occasion, he was much affected with a sense of the importance of the ministerial office, which he was taking upon him, and the diligence which ought to be used in the discharge of it. Yet these convictions were but slight, and soon carried away, like the chaff, by the wind of temptation; though, for a little time, they were promoted by an acquaintance with some religious people at Rochdale, who used to meet together once a week, for religious exercises. But, upon his removal thence, very soon after, to Todmorden, though not far distant from Rochdale, instead of acting up to the good motions he had felt in his soul, and which had been encouraged by his pious acquaintance, he pursued a different course, and went no more among them. He conformed to the vain and thoughtless world; he followed all its stupid and trifling diversions; and endeavoured to satisfy his conscience with "doing his ministerial duty," according to the common phrase, on a Sunday, without attending any farther, either to the improvement of his own mind by study, or to the improvement of his people, as an effect of his own. He was, in a word, what too many of the modern clerical profession are, an easy companion for easy men who give themselves no trouble about their own souls, or about God, or any thing else but what Leviathan is represented to be doing in the world, *taking their pastime therein*. Give them the pleasures of the earth, if not of direct sin too, for a season; and the honour of Christ, and the salvation of sinners, are those subordinate affairs, which may be taken care of, at any time, or no time, by any man, or no man, just as they please. They comprehend no more of spiritual good, than the luxurious epicure, who said, "that he did not understand what great happiness there could be in heaven, where folks were to sit upon a large cloud to eternity, singing hallelujahs, and having nothing to eat or to drink." There are thousands who would be ashamed perhaps to letter the words, but who are living in the spirit of the worldliness they imply,

sisted of above TEN THOUSAND souls. Thither he was invited by the Rev. Mr. Wesley's ministers, and also by the societies. And the Rev. Charles Wesley an-

from day to day. Mr. Grimshaw, to his compunction afterwards, was numbered too long among this ungodly fraternity. It was for several years before he was enabled to emerge from the times. However, it is said, he refrained as much as possible from gross swearing, unless in suitable company, and when he got drunk, would take care to sleep it off before he came home.—O what a scandal to religion are swearing, drinking, hunting, horse-racing, gambling, and ungodly priests, and what a jest, or stumbling block, to the world!

About the year 1734, and in the twenty-sixth of Mr. Grimshaw's life, God was pleased to bring upon him an earnest concern for his own salvation, and consequently for that of his flock at Todmorden. This immediately became visible by his reformation. He quickly left all his diversions; his hunting, card-playing, fishing, &c. And he now began to catechise the young people, to preach up the absolute necessity of a strict and devout life; to visit his people, not in order to drink and be merry with them as before, but to exhort and press them to seek the salvation of their souls, and to enforce what he had delivered to them from the pulpit.

The Lord brought him to very strong and painful convictions of his own guilt, helplessness, and misery; by discovering to him what he did not suspect before, that his heart was deceitful and desperately wicked; and, what was more afflicting still, that all his duties, labours, and goodness, could not procure for him pardon, or gain him a title to eternal life. Very painful apprehensions therefore now seized his mind, of what must become of him. But this was the work of the law upon his conscience, and the preparation of his soul for the gospel of peace. In this state of trouble he continued for some time, not daring to acquaint any with the distress he suffered, lest they should report that he was either mad or melancholy. But, by these lasting and deep convictions, being brought to a deep acquaintance with the corruptions of his own heart, and the knowledge of its sin by the law of God, inforced upon him by the Spirit of God, and being therefore made willing to receive salvation freely, and to consider himself humbly as a *brand plucked out of the burning;* the day of his consolation and knowledge of Christ, infinitely precious to his soul, graciously drew near. The bible began now to appear quite a new book. He found the rich import of those scriptures, which declare the sacrifice and righteousness of Christ to be the *whole* atonement and justification of a sinner before God; and which testify the

nounced him from the pulpit; and by him he was introduced to the pulpit in Newcastle, where he preached four times, and twice in the fields. (Letters 1278, 1279.)

remission of sins to believers on his name, and sanctification as the blessed effect of this believing, in growing evidence of that remission. "I was now," says he, "willing to renounce myself, with every degree of fancied merit and ability, and to embrace Christ only for my all in all. O what light and comfort did I now enjoy in my own soul, and what a taste of the pardoning love of God!"

As he was then taught of God in his own experience, so his preaching, in the year 1742, began to be clear and profitable. He dwelt much in representing the nature and excellencies of christian faith, and salvation by Christ alone. All this time he was an entire stranger to serious persons, or to those faithful men who were the occasion under God of the revival of religion among us. He was also an entire stranger to their writings, except a single sermon upon Gal. iii. 24, and a letter to the people of England, published by the Rev. Mr. Seagrave, in which he was surprized to find the nature, life, spirituality, and power of truth and doctrine, in a material point, to be the very same with what he now saw clearly in the word of God, and from which his peace had entirely flowed. Dr. Owen's book on justification was also of great use to him about this time.

In the month of May, 1742, instructed in this manner, Mr. Grimshaw came to the people and church at Haworth near Bradford, in Yorkshire, and very soon the good effects of his preaching became visible among a people ignorant and brutish, as the face of their country is wild and rugged. Many of his careless flock were brought into deep concern for the salvation of their souls, and were filled with peace and joy through believing. And as in ancient times, before preaching was debased by modern refinement, and alas! to such a cold and languid exercise, that generally one can scarce observe a decent attention to the minister in the pulpit; his people felt in their hearts a deep conviction of sin; and the whole congregation have been often seen in tears, on account of their numerous provocations against God, and under a sense of his goodness in yet sparing them, and waiting to be gracious unto them. This lively, powerful manner of representing the truths of God, could not fail of being much talked of, and bringing, out of curiosity, many hundreds to Haworth church: and there they received so much benefit by what they heard, that when the novelty was long over, the church continued to be full of people, many of whom came from far, and this for twenty years together. Indeed, nothing but this will draw souls heartily together, or, ac-

The season being beeing too far advanced, he did not proceed to Scotland, but returned to London, having preached thirty times in Yorkshire; in Cheshire and

cording to the prophet's language, *as doves to their windows.* Mere morality, derived from man's ability, neither comes warm from the heart, nor goes warmly to it. With the trash of human attainments and human endeavours, all fallen, corrupt, feeble, and depraved, no soul living can be satisfied. When men preach these, to use the words of Milton,

"The sheep look up, but are not fed."

It was the pure truth of the gospel, which brought men to reform from popery, and which only can produce true reformation at any time. It was this which hath drawn thousands from the church to various Dissenters, where it hath been preached by them; and it is the preaching of this alone, as we have abundant proof, that can fill our churches again.

Mr. Grimshaw was now too happy himself in the knowledge of Christ, to rest satisfied, without taking every method he thought likely, to spread the knowledge of his God and Saviour. And as some indigent people constantly make their want of better clothes to appear in, an excuse for not coming to church in the day time, when their want would be visible to the whole congregation; he contrived, for their sakes, a lecture on Sunday evenings, though he preached twice in the former part of the day. In which lecture, a chapter or a psalm, after the primitive custom of the christian church, was expounded. God was pleased to give great success to these attempts, which animated him still more to spend and be spent for Christ's cause: so that the next year he began a method, which was continued by him ever after, of preaching in each of the four Hamlets under his care, three times every month. By which means the old and infirm, who could not attend the church, had the truth of God brought to their houses; and many, who were so profane as to make the distance from the house of God a reason for scarce ever coming to it, were allured to hear, and at length received with joy the word of life.

By this time, the great attention and labour with which he instructed his own people, the circumspection and holiness of his conversation, and the lasting benefit which very many from the neighbouring parishes had obtained, by attending his ministry; all concurred to bring upon him many earnest intreaties to come to the houses of others who lived in neighbouring parishes, and to expound the word of God to souls as ignorant as they were themselves, before they had heard instruction

Lancashire ten. He was also at Sheffield and Nottingham. The congregations were mostly peaceable and attentive, only in one or two places he was rudely treated;

from his lips. As the purest benevolence was the only motive to this request; so all, who knew Mr. Grimshaw, are assured, (and what others think or say matters not,) that nothing but love to the souls of men, and a desire of proving a blessing to them, engaged him to preach, as occasion offered, in other parishes. So that whilst he was one of the most diligent in overseeing, and providing abundantly for all in his own flock, he annually found opportunity of instructing near three hundred times, large companies, and sometimes large congregations besides. After he had preached for the first time in any place, he commonly thanked the person into whose house or barn he was received, and added: "I hope you will give me leave to come again."

Mr. Grimshaw thus went on preaching *fifteen, twenty,* and often *thirty* times in the week, and that for *fifteen* years, or upwards, besides visiting the sick, and other occasional duties of his function. To one of his friends in a neighbouring parish, whose wife had been sick, he thus apologized: "I am sorry that I have not been able to visit your wife; I have not wanted inclination, but time; for I have had *thirty times to preach this week.*" It is not easy to ascribe such unwearied diligence, and all amongst the poor, or at least very obscure people, to any motive but the real one. He thought his tongue should never be still in guilty silence, whilst he could speak to the honour of that God, who had done so much for his soul. And whilst he saw sinners perishing for lack of knowledge, and no one breaking to them the bread of life, he was transported by love to pity them; and, notwithstanding the selfish reluctance he felt within, to give up his name to still greater reproach, as well as his time and strength to the work of the ministry. What a reflection should this afford to that laziness of heart, to call it by no worse a name, which thinks the service of God, after naming it in prayer before him a "perfect freedom," to be a hard burden, and which courts easy duty and large fees, only for an indulgence to the flesh, and to hold up a sort of foolish and unmeaning respect in the world.

During all this intense and persevering application to what was the whole *delight* of his heart, God was exceedingly favourable to him; for, through the space of sixteen years, he was only once suspended from his labours by sickness, though he ventured in all weathers upon the bleak mountains, and used his body with less consideration, than a merciful man would use his beast. In this manner Mr. Grimshaw employed all his talents

but this he regarded not, so that he might win souls to Christ. (Letters 1281, 1286.)

even to his last illness: and his labours were not in vain in the Lord. He saw an effectual change take place in many of his flock; a deep sense of evil and good, and a striking restraint from the commission of sin, brought upon the parish in general. He saw the name of Jesus exalted, and many souls happy in the knowledge of him, and walking as becomes the gospel of Christ.

Mr. Grimshaw's behaviour thoughout his last illness, was all of a piece with the last twenty years of his life. From the very first attack of his fever, he welcomed the approach of death. His intimate experimental knowledge of Christ, abolished all the reluctance which nature usually feels to a dissolution; and, triumphing in him, who is the resurrection and the life, he fell asleep in Jesus, April 7, 1763, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and in the twenty-first of eminent usefulness in the church of Christ. His body was interred with what is more ennobling than all the pomp of solemn dirges, or of a royal funeral: for he was followed to the grave by a great multitude, with the most affectionate sighs and with many tears; and who cannot still hear his much-loved name without weeping for the guide of their souls, to whom each of them was dear as children to their father.

A funeral sermon was preached at St. Dunstan's in the West, London, on the 17th of April, 1763, ten days after his decease, by the Rev. William Romaine, rector of St. Ann's, Blackfriars, from Phil. i. 21. "For *him* to live was Christ, and to die was gain."

A funeral sermon was also preached at Haworth church, by that excellent and faithful minister of Christ, the Rev. H. Venn.

For a full account of Mr. Grimshaw, I must refer my readers to the "Sketch," drawn of it by Mr. Venn; which mentions several particulars, which are too extraordinary and too valuable to be buried in silence.

The following anecdote was related in a sermon preached at Surry chapel, London, Sept. 29, 1793, by the Rev. Mr. Bull, of Newport-Pagnell.

When Mr. Whitefield was once preaching in Mr. Grimshaw's church in Yorkshire, he took occasion to say in his discourse, that "He was willing to hope in the judgment of charity, that most of his hearers were good people—converted people—and truly possessed of the grace of God." Upon which Mr. Grimshaw, who was present, arose up, and with an elevated voice said, "No, no, Sir, they are not half of them converted by the grace of God. Speak to them faithfully,"—"So let me be faithful *to you*," said Mr. Bull, "not mince the matter, and say, peace, peace, where there is no peace."

He came to London in November, and continued till February; during which period, besides labouring in his usual way, he occasionally assisted in West-street chapel, preaching and administering the sacrament.*

February 8, 1750. From Gloucester he writes thus: "Though I left London in a very weak condition, and the weather was but bad, I came here on Friday evening, was strengthened to preach on Saturday, and likewise on Sunday evening, and twice the same day in the country, at the New-house at Hampton."†

And again, from Bristol, February 12. "Since I wrote last, we have been favoured both in Gloucester city and in the country, with very pleasant and delightful seasons.‡ I have preached above twenty times within these eight or nine days; and though frequently exposed to rain and hail, am much better than when I left London."—From Bristol he went to Exeter and Plymouth. On the way he met with the Rev. Mr. Pearsal, an eminent dissenting minister at Taunton, and the Rev. Mr. Darracott,‖ at Wellington; both of

* Letter 1319.

† Letter 1314.

‡ Letter 1316.

‖ The Rev. Risdon Darracott was the son of a dissenting minister in the Isle of Purbeck, in Dorsetshire, where he was born February 1, 1717. He received academical education at Northampton, under the care of the pious Dr. Doddrige, and began his ministerial course in 1738, at Penzance, in Cornwall. Here he continued little more than two years, being obliged, by the loss of large quantities of blood from his stomach, to leave an affectionate people. Under this alarming affliction he spent about half a year among his friends in Devonshire, where his own father had lately been a fervent and useful preacher, and where he died about the age of forty. Upon the death of the Rev. Mr. Berry, an aged and excellent minister of Christ at Wellington, in 1741, Mr. Darracott had an unanimous invitation to succeed him. He found the congregation small, and the number of communicants but twenty-eight. His ministrations drew a large concourse of hearers from the neighbourhood, many of whom had never before made any profession of religion, and

whom he mentions with great respect. He preached at Plymouth twelve times in six days, and each time his hearers increased, as did the zeal of his friends; while the fury of his adversaries began to abate. He proceeded thence to the Land's End, preaching at a great many places by the way.

We find him, by March 21, again at Exeter. "Invitations," says he, "are sent from several places, I want more tongues, more bodies, more souls, for the Lord Jesus. Had I ten thousand, he should have them all."*

In April, he was in London, and at Portsmouth; and in May went to Ashby. He had a delightful interview with the Rev. Dr. Doddridge, Rev. James Hervey,† &c. But at Ashby, where it might have been least expected, there was a riot made before lady Hunt-

were at first brought to Wellington out of mere curiosity. His meeting-house was soon insufficient to contain the hearers, and was therefore enlarged; but after that, it was usual for many to be obliged to stand without the doors. In proportion to the number of his stated hearers, the Rev. Mr. Fawcett, who preached his funeral sermon, says, "He never knew any congregation which appeared to have so many instances of abiding religious impressions;" and he adds, "I have good reason to believe that his ministry was owned to the effectual conversion of *many hundreds* of souls." In consequence of this remarkable success, he left behind him more than *two hundred* communicants. He fell asleep in Jesus, March 14, 1759, aged forty-two.

The night before he died, he said, "O what a good God have I, in and through Jesus Christ! I would praise him, but my lips cannot. Eternity will be too short to speak his praises." The physician coming in, he said to him, "O what a mercy is it, to be interested in the atoning blood of Jesus! I come to the Lord as a vile sinner, trusting in the merits and precious blood of my dear Redeemer. O grace! grace! free grace!" His last words were, "I am going from weeping friends to congratulating angels, and rejoicing saints in glory! He is coming! O speed thy chariot wheels! why are they so long in coming? I long to be gone."

* Letters 1324, 1325, and 1326.

† Letter 1332.

ingdon's house, during the preaching there: and in the evening, some people returning home, very narrowly escaped being murdered. The justice, upon information, ordered the offenders to be brought before him. "So that I hope," says Mr. Whitefield, "it will be over-ruled for great good; and that the gospel, for the future, will have free course."*

Leaving Ashby, he preached at Radcliff church, Nottingham, and Sutton, with great success. "At Nottingham," says he, "several came to me, enquiring, *What they should do to be saved?* I preached there four times. One evening, lord S—— and several gentlemen were present, and behaved with great decency. Many thousands attended.—Yesterday morning I breakfasted with three dissenting ministers, and Mr. P——s, who told me that lady P—— desired he would press me to preach at the church. Yesterday in the afternoon I preached at Sutton, and this morning at Mansfield."† He then went to Rotherham and Sheffield; and at the end of May was at Leeds. He says, "methinks I am now got into another climate, where there are many of God's people."‡ He next went to Manchester, and so on to Edinburgh, where he arrived July 16, having preached near ONE HUNDRED times since he left London; and it is supposed to above ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND souls. "It is amazing," he writes, "to see how people are prepared in places where I never was before. What shall I render to the Lord?"

At Edinburgh and Glasgow, in which places he spent the month of July, 1750, he was as usual, received with the most unfeigned tenderness and joy, preaching to great multitudes of serious and attentive people, which made him exert himself beyond his bodily strength,

* Letter 1335.
† Letter 1338.
‡ Letter 1340, and 1349.

"By preaching always twice," he says, "once thrice, and once four times in a day, I am quite weakened, but I hope to recruit again. I am burning with a fever, and have a violent cold; but Christ's presence makes me smile at pain; and the fire of his love burns up all fevers whatsoever."*

He left Edinburgh, April 3, and was soon much recovered by riding. At Berwick, one of the ministers sent him an offer of his pulpit, which many others round the town were also willing to do.

When returned to London, he preached often at West-street chapel. Mr. Hervey, at his request, came to town, and lodged in his house—in whose company he enjoyed much pleasure.

In the month of October, he again ranged about, as he expressed it, "to see who would believe the gospel report," †preaching at Plymouth, Chatham, Gloucester, Birmingham, Evesham, Wednesbury, and Nottingham. And was more than ordinary successful at Chatham and Canterbury.

In London, he passed the winter with incessant labour, and with great success. He was a fortnight confined in his room, by a fever and inflammation of the lungs; but in December, was able to preach again.

At the latter end of January, 1751, he rode post to Ashby, much alarmed at the news of lady Huntingdon's dangerous illness, and the afflictions with which her family was visited at that time. On the 29th he writes thus:—"Blessed be God, lady Huntingdon is somewhat better. Entreat all our friends to pray for her. Her sister-in-law, lady Frances Hastings, lies dead in the house. She was a retired christian, lived silently, and died suddenly, without a groan.

* Letter 1351, and 1355.
† Letter 1368.

May my exit be like her's. Almost all the family have been sick in their turns."

March 5, he went again into Gloucestershire, and to Bristol, preaching in his way to Plymouth.

At Exeter, April 11, he wrote thus to Mr. Hervey:—"Some good I trust, is to be done this spring to many souls. This western circuit, I believe, has been blessed already. I have preached about forty times since I left London, and have been enabled several times to ride forty miles a-day. I find this sensibly refreshes me. I wish you could say so too. At Plymouth, we had sweet seasons; and on Tuesday last, I met with a young clergyman who was awakened by my preaching seven years ago. He has been at Cambridge, and was ordained by the bishop of Exeter. He is followed much, and I suppose, will soon be reproached for his Master's sake. I hope you find strength to proceed in your book."

From Exeter he journeyed through Wales, and rode near five hundred miles, preaching twice a-day; and then made his visit to Ireland, which he had intended for some time.

CHAP. XIV.

From his first visit to Ireland, to his opening the New Tabernacle at London, in the year 1753.

AFTER a passage of five days, he arrived at Dublin, May 24, 1751. There he was received gladly, and lodged at the house of Mr. L——, preaching also every morning and evening. "Surely," says he, "here are

many converted souls; among them are two or three students, and several soldiers. At first the greatness and hurry of the place surprised me; but thanks be to the Lord of the harvest, here as well as elsewhere, the fields are white, ready unto harvest. Congregations are large, and hear as for eternity."*

And again—"Athlone, June 10. For this week past, I have been preaching twice almost every day in some country towns. I found through the many offences that have lately been given, matters were brought to a low ebb. But the cry now is, 'methodism is received again.'"†

At Limerick and Cork he preached to great multitudes, undisturbed, although the Methodists had met with violent persecution there.

At Bandon and Kinsale, the like blessings attended him: and at Cork, the numbers of affectionate hearers, greatly increased. Being detained at Belfast, by the urgent importunity of the people, he preached in many towns and villages, and so great was the prospect of success, that he wished he had visited the north of Ireland sooner. But he hastened to Scotland, intending to return before winter to his beloved charge in America.

In July, 1751, he therefore went from Belfast to Irvine, where the magistrates requested him to preach; and from thence to Glasgow.

July 12, he writes thus:—"Though I preached near eighty times in Ireland, and God was pleased to bless his word, yet Scotland seems to be a new world to me.

* Letters 1391, 1392.

† In the M.S. he says, "I took a journey from near Haverfordwest to Ireland, where a yet greater work had been begun, and carried on to a high degree, amidst prodigious opposition; numbers converted, not only from popery, but to Jesus Christ, at Athlone, Dublin, Limerick, Cork, and various other places."

To see the people bring so many bibles, turn to every passage when I am expounding, and hanging, as it were, upon me to hear every word, is very encouraging. I feel an uncommon freedom here; and talking with the winter, as well as with the summer saints, feeds and delights my heart." He was much pleased at this time to hear, that Mr. Dinwiddie, brother-in-law to the Rev. Mr. Macculloch of Cambaslang, was appointed governor of Virginia. There had been a remarkable awakening in that province for several years, in particular in Hanover county, and parts adjacent. Being unsupported by the established clergy, and having put themselves under the care of the synod of New York, the Methodists were greatly discouraged by men in power. However, Providence interposed in their behalf, for the Rev. Samuel Davies, afterwards president of the college at New Jersey, was licensed, and placed over a congregation; after which, the cause of religion increased, and one congregation in a short time, was increased to seven.*

Thus had these good people the pleasing prospect of enjoying equal privileges with Protestant Dissenters at home. August 6, he set out from Edinburgh for London, in order to embark for America. He had thrown up much blood in Edinburgh; but travelling recovering him. He was much refreshed with hearing of the happy effects of his labours at Kendal, the year before. Having taken an affectionate farewell of his friends at home, he set sail in the Antelope, captain Maclellan, bound for Georgia, with Germans, taking several children with him.

October 27, he arrived at Savannah, and had the consolation to find the orphan-house in a flourishing state. "Thanks be to God," says he, "all is well at Bethesda.

* Letter 1401.

A most excellent tract of land is granted to me, very near the house, which in a few years, I hope, will make a sufficient provision for it."*

November 1751, to the beginning of April 1752, he was partly at Bethesda, and partly in South Carolina, always alert in the part of duty. "I intended," says he, "by God's assistance, now to begin; for as yet, alas! I have done nothing. O that I may be in earnest; it is a new year; God quicken my tardy pace, and help me to do much work in a little time! this is my highest ambition."†

Having suffered from the climate formerly, he did not choose to spend the summer in America. But again embarked in April for London. He arrived in a very seasonable time, as it was the intention of government to put the infant colony on the same footing with the others, whereby it was hoped it would soon become a flourishing province. This revived his spirits much. He now thought that Providence was appearing for Georgia and Bethesda; and determined, therefore, to dispose of his plantation, and to carry all his strength to the orphan-house.

In June he planned a new excursion—"Next week," says he, "God willing, I shall go to Portsmouth, and through Bath to Wales, and may be, to Scotland and Ireland."‡ And we find his letters about this time, dated at Portsmouth, Bristol, Cardiff, and Haverfordwest. In returning to Bristol, he met an association, at which were present, about nine clergymen, and nearly forty lay preachers; who, he says, "I trust all are born of God, and desirous to promote his glory, and his people's good. All was harmony and love."‖

* Letter 1412.
† Letters 1410, and 1411.
‡ Letter 1418.
‖ Letter 1425.

August 17. His letter of this date, from London, to his friend Dr. T——, the celebrated electrical philosopher, deserves a particular notice here.—"I find you grow more and more famous in the learned world. As you have made a pretty considerable progress in the mysteries of electricity, I would now humbly recommend to your diligent unprejudiced pursuit and study, the mystery of the *new birth*. It is a most important, interesting study; and when mastered, will richly answer and repay you for all your pains. One at whose bar, we are shortly to appear, hath solemnly declared, that without it, we cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. You will excuse this freedom. I must have *aliquid Christi* in all my letters."*

From London he next proceeded to Edinburgh, where he arrived in the beginning of September, 1752. He preached twice, in his way; at Lutterworth, the parish of the famous John Wickliffe, and at Leicester—and at each place, much good was done. At Newcastle he was entreated to stay, and preached four times to very large congregations.

At Edinburgh and Glasgow, he laboured as usual. From the latter he writes:—"At Edinburgh, great multitudes, among whom were abundance of the better sort, attended twice a-day. Many young ministers and students have given close attendance, and I hear of several persons that have been brought under deep convictions. I intended to send you a copy of two letters from a highland school-master, who is honoured of God to do much good among the poor highland children.† I have brave news from Leicester and Newcastle, and have strong invitations to Yorkshire and Lancashire. What a pity it is that the year goes round so soon."‡

* Letter 1426.
† Letter 1431.
‡ Letter 1433.

On his return to London, he preached at Berwick, and all the principal towns.—November 1, from Sheffield he writes :—" Since I left Newcastle, I have scarce known sometimes, whether I have been in heaven or on earth. At Leeds, Birstall, Haworth, Hallifax, &c. thousands and thousands have flocked twice or thrice a-day to hear the word of life. I am now come from Bolton, Manchester, Stockport, and Chinly. Yesterday I preached in a church. Four ordained ministers, friends to the work of God, have been with me. The word has run so swifty at Leeds, that friends are come to fetch me back; and I am now going to Rotherham, Wakefield, Leeds, York, and Epworth. God favours us with weather; and I would fain make hay whilst the sun shines. O that I had as many tongues, as there are hairs upon my head! the ever-loving, ever-lovely Jesus should have them all. Fain would I die preaching."*

November 10, he arrived at the Tabernacle, in London. December 15, he says, " my hands are full of work; and I trust I can say, the Lord causes his work to prosper in my unworthy hands. More blessed seasons we never enjoyed. Our sacramental occasions have been exceeding awful and refreshing."

He now thought of erecting a new Tabernacle, a capacious building, eighty feet square; which was finished the summer following.

Mr. Hervey and he, about this time, were employed in revising each other's works. Of Mr. Hervey, he says—" for me to play the critic on them, would be like holding up a candle to the sun. However, I will just mark a few places, as you desire. I foretell their fate; nothing but your scenery can screen you. Self will never bear to die, though slain in so genteel a

* Letters 1435, 1436.

manner, without shewing some resentment against its artful murderer."*

Again, "I thank you a thousand times for the trouble you have been at revising my poor compositions, which I am afraid you have not treated with a becoming severity. How many pardons shall I ask for mangling, and I fear murdering your THERON and ASPASIO. If you think my two sermons will do for the public, pray return them immediately. I have nothing to comfort me but this, that the Lord chuses the weak things of this world to confound the strong, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are. I write for the poor—you for the polite and noble. God will assuredly own and bless what you write."†

About this time he was very much afflicted, on account of the death of the Rev. Mr. Steward, a valuable minister, who began to be popular in the church, but soon called to his everlasting rest. "When I met the workmen to contract about the building, I could scarce bear to think of building a Tabernacle. Strange! that so many should be so soon discharged, and we continued. Mr. Steward spoke for his Lord, as long as he could speak at all. He had no clouds, nor darkness. I was with him till a few minutes before he slept in Jesus."‡

March 1, 1753, he laid the foundation of the new Tabernacle, and preached from Exodus xx. 24. While the building was erecting, he preached abroad, in Moorfields, Spitalfields, &c. and made excursions to Chatham, Sheerness, and Baintree.

In April, he went, for a few days, to Norwich,‖ preaching twice a-day; the people flocked with the

* Letter 1415.
† Letter 1463.
‡ Letter 1468.
‖ A young man of the city of Norwich, of about eighteen years of age, was walking one morning, with a party of other

the greatest earnestness, to hear. In the evening some riotous persons endeavoured to disturb him, but in vain. It was about this time that he published his ex-

young men, who had all agreed for that day to make a holiday. The first object that attracted their attention was an old woman, who pretended to tell fortunes. They immediately employed her to tell theirs, and that they might fully qualify her for their undertaking, first made her thoroughly intoxicated with spirituous liquor. The young man of whom mention was first made, was informed, among other things, that he would live to a very old age, and see his children, grand-children, and great grand-children, growing up around him. Though he had assisted in qualifying the old woman for the fraud by intoxicating her, yet he had credulity enough to be struck with these parts of her predictions which related to himself. "And so," quoth he, when alone, "I am to see children, grand-children, and great grand-children! At that age I must be a burden to the young people. What shall I do? There is no way for an old man to render himself more agreeable to youth, than by sitting and telling them pleasant and profitable stories. I will then, thought he, during my youth, endeavour to store my mind with all kinds of knowledge. I will see and hear, and note down every thing that is rare and wonderful, that I may sit, when incapable of other employment, and entertain my descendants. Thus shall my company be rendered pleasant, and I shall be respected rather than neglected in old age. Let me see what I can acquire first? O! here is the famous methodist preacher, Whitefield; he is to preach, they say, to-night, I will go and hear him."

From these strange motives the young man declared he went to hear Mr. Whitefield. He preached that evening from Matthew iii. 7. "But when he saw many of the pharisees and sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O, generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?"—"Mr. Whitefield," said the young man, "described the sadducean character; this did not touch me, I thought myself as good a christian as any man in England. From this he went to that of the pharisees. He described their exterior decency, but observed that the poison of the viper rankled in their hearts. This rather shook me. At length, in the course of his sermon, he abruptly broke off; paused for a few moments; then burst into a flood of tears; lifted up his hands and eyes, and exclaimed, "O my hearers! *The wrath's to come! the wrath's to come!*" These words sunk into my heart, like lead in the waters. I wept, and when the sermon was ended, retired alone. For days and weeks I could think of little else. Those awful words would follow me, wherever I went, *The wrath's to*

postulatory Letter to count Zinzendorff, the bishop of the Moravians, in London.*

In May, he took another circuit westward; and every where a gracious melting season appeared to be among the people. In about a fortnight, he rode THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY miles, and preached above TWENTY times.†

His new Tabernacle was opened on Sunday, June 10, 1753, with a sermon in the morning, from the 1st of Kings viii. 11. and another in the evening, from the 1st of Chronicles xxix. 9.

come! the wrath's to come!"—The issue was, that the young man, soon after, made a public profession of religion, and in a little time became a considerable preacher. He himself related the foregoing circumstance a few years since, to the Rev. Andrew Fuller, of Kettering.

* See Vol. IV. of his Works.

† Letter 1476.

CHAP. XV.

From his opening the New Tabernacle in Moorfields, to his preaching at the Chapel in Tottenham-Court Road, 1756.

MR. WHITEFIELD having preached at his Tabernacle a few days with his accustomed earnestness and success, to crowded auditories, in the end of June, set out for Scotland.

In his progress, he enjoyed very pleasant opportunities at Oulney. He preached likewise at Leicester, Nottingham, and Sheffield. Multitudes every where flocking like doves to their windows, to receive the word of eternal life.

In his way to Leeds, he preached at Rotherham* and Wakefield; at the former place, he had met with such

* Rotherham, and its environs, had, for a considerable time, been ranked by serious people, among those parts of Yorkshire, which were least inclined to favour the spread of evangelical religion; and when Mr. Whitefield attempted to disseminate divine knowledge in that neighbourhood, his person and message was treated with contempt. The propagation of malicious falsehoods was encouraged, with a design to counteract the good effects of his ministry. Mr. Thorpe, afterwards pastor of the Independent church, at Masborough, near Rotherham, ranged under the standard of his most virulent opposers; and not content with personal insult, added private ridicule to public interruption. Public-houses became theatres, where the fate of religious opinions was to be determined.

It was at one of these convivial resorts, that Mr. Thorpe and three of his associates, to enliven the company, undertook to mimic the preacher. The proposition was highly gratifying to all parties present, and a wager agreed upon, to inspire each individual with a desire of excelling in this impious attempt. That their jovial auditors might adjudge the prize to the most adroit performer, it was concluded that each should open the Bible, and hold forth from the first text that should present itself to his eye. Accordingly three in their turn mounted the table, and entertained their wicked companions, at the expense of every thing sacred. When they had exhausted their little stock of buffoonery, it devolved on Mr. Thorpe to close this very irreverent scene. Much elevated, and confident of success, he exclaimed as he ascended the table, "I shall beat you all!" But O! the stupendous depths of divine mercy! who would have conceived that a gracious Providence should have presided over such an assembly, and that this should be the time of heavenly love to one of the most outrageous mockers!

Mr. Thorpe, when the Bible was handed to him, had not the slightest pre-conception, what part of the scripture he should make the subject of his banter. However, by the guidance of an unerring Providence, it opened at that remarkable passage, Luke xiii. 3. "*Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.*" No sooner had he uttered the words, than his mind was affected in a very extraordinary manner. The sharpest pangs of conviction now seized him, and conscience denounced tremendous vengeance upon his soul. In a moment, he was favoured with a clear view of his subject, and divided his discourse more like a divine, who had been accustomed to speak on portions of scripture, than like one who never so much as thought on religious topics, except for the purpose of ridicule! He found no deficiency of matter, no want of utterance, and he has fre-

disturbance from the mob, that he almost resolved to preach there no more. But he was now convinced of

quently declared, "If ever I preached in my life, by the assistance of the Spirit of God, it was at that time." The impression that the subject made upon his mind, had such an effect upon his manner, that the most ignorant and profame could not but perceive that what he had spoken was with the greatest sincerity.

The unexpected solemnity and pertinency of his address, instead of entertaining the company, first spread a visible depression, and afterwards a sullen gloom, upon every countenance. This sudden change in the complexion of his associates did not a little conduce to increase the convictions of his own bosom. No individual appeared disposed to interrupt him; but, on the contrary, their attention was deeply engaged with the pointedness of his remarks; yea, many of his sentences, as he has often related, made, to his apprehension, his own hair stand erect!

When he left the table not a syllable was uttered concerning the wager; but a profound silence pervaded the company. Mr. Thorpe immediately withdrew, without taking the least notice of any person present; and returned home, with very painful reflections, and in the deepest distress imaginable. Happily for him, this was his last bacchanalian revel! His impressions were manifestly genuine; and from that period, the connexion between him and his former companions was entirely dissolved. Then, by a sovereign, and almost unexampled act of divine grace, in a place where, and at a time when, it was least expected, "the prey was taken from the mighty, and the lawful captive delivered!"

Hell mourns sincere, as for an only son!
A captive lost—and heaven the prize has won!

The people whom he had before so frequently reviled, became now the object of his delight. He sought their company with avidity; and, soon after, was joined to the methodist society. His habitual seriousness, and uniform morality, soon endeared him to his new connexions, and the specimens he gave of his talents, in his occasional exercises in private, flattered their hopes, that he would soon be called forth to public notice. In these expectations they were not disappointed; for he was quickly sent out by Mr. Wesley to "preach the faith which he once laboured to destroy."

About two years after he was stationed for a season at Rotherham. Here his ideas became more enlarged in the doctrines of grace; which procured his dismission from the society. He was chosen pastor of the church at Masborough, where he exercised

the rashness of such a step; for some who had been bitter persecutors, now gladly received him within their doors; acknowledging that God had made him instrumental in their conversion.

At Leeds, he had great success—at York he was twice disturbed, and twice he preached in peace, and with much power. At Newcastle and Sunderland, great multitudes were deeply impressed. At five in the morning the great room was filled, and on the Lord's-day the congregation without was immense. In short, so promising was the appearance, that he was inclined to wish he had not engaged to go to Scotland, and resolved to return as soon as possible.

Having spent a few days at Edinburgh and Glasgow, in his accustomed manner, with much acceptance, he returned to England, August 7.* He found his continual

the ministerial function, thirteen years. On November, 8, 1776, about the forty-sixth year of his age, he gently resigned his breath without a struggle; and doubtless went triumphantly to the perfect worship and happiness of heaven!—*See Memoirs of the Rev. John Thorpe, in the Evangelical Magazine for February* 1794.

* After he had been in Glasgow, the following paragraph appeared in the Newcastle Journal, August 11, 1753. "By a letter from Edinburgh we are informed, that on the 2d instant, Mr. Whitefield, the itinerant, being at Glasgow, and preaching to a numerous audience, near the play-house lately built, he inflamed the mob so much against it, that they ran directly from before him, and pulled it down to the ground. Several of the rioters are since taken up, and committed to goal."

It would not have been worth while to transcribe this, were it not another specimen of the unaccountable liberties taken by some of the opposers of Mr. Whitefield, in telling their stories concerning him. The fact was this. Mr. Whitefield being informed that the players had lately come to Glasgow, and had met with some encouragement, took occasion in his sermon to preach against play-houses, and to represent their pernicious influence on religion and morality, especially in a populous, commercial city, and the seat of a university. But there was no riot. It was the proprietor of the play-house, at that time a slight temporary booth, supported by the old walls of the bishop's castle, who ordered his workmen to take it down.

exertions exceeded his strength. Yet he went forward, preaching twice or thrice a-day, and once five times, often wishing to be with his divine master in glory.

On his return to England, he went from Newcastle to Stockton, Osmotherly, York, and Leeds. He had a very refreshing season while assisting to administer the sacrament at Haworth, to a great number of communicants; and rode as far as Boston, Manchester, and Stockport. The eagerness of the people was wonderful: he preached in every town through which he passed, and came to London the latter end of September, having travelled about TWELVE HUNDRED miles, and preached ONE HUNDRED and EIGHTY times.*

His stay in London was but short, for in the month of October he made a journey to Staffordshire. A scene of extensive usefulness seemed to open to him during his stay at Oulney; at which place, and many adjacent parts, he preached in one week. Also at Birmingham, and all around, the multitudes of hearers were very

Mr. Whitefield in a letter to the countess of Huntingdon, dated August 13, 1753, says, "at Glasgow, the man who owned the play-house was made so uneasy by the word preached, that he took down the roof himself. For this Satan owes me a grudge, and therefore it is put in the paper, that a mob was raised. But there was not the least appearance of any such thing. Our weapons are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of Satan's strong holds."

In another letter, dated August 23, 1753, to the right honourable lady Frances Shirley, he says, "I have been of late generally enabled to preach thrice a-day, and in all appearance the word never was attended with more success. Satan rages and belies me, about the taking down the Glasgow play-houses; but I hope my letter lately published in the Newcastle Journal, will set all things right. Thanks be to God, without the assistance of mobs and riots, which my soul abhors, the christian's weapons, through divine assistance, are mighty to the pulling down of Satan's strong holds. Blessed be his holy name for any begun conquests there; surely his name is wonderful that hath done it." Letters 989, 990.

* Letter 992.

numerous and attentive. At a place not far from Dadley, called Guarnall, he was told of a whole company that were awakended by reading his sermons.* He had the pleasure of meeting with others who had been awakened years ago; and heard of a notorious persecutor and drunkard, who had been powerfully convinced. It was, as he expresses it, his delight to break up new ground; and sometimes found, to his comfort, that his way was prepared by the divine blessing on his writings, particularly at Alpenham, in Cheshire, and at Liverpool; where a person who had received benefit by reading his sermons, met him at landing, and took him to his house. Here all was quiet, as well as at Chester, where he preached four times, having several of the established clergy in his congregations. But at Wrexham and Nantwich, where a meeting-house had lately been pulled down, he was assaulted by the mob, and compelled to remove with his congregation to a place a little out of town.†

Thus he continued travelling about, now and then returning to spend a few days in London. November 16, he thus writes from Gloucester:—"After Lord's-day, I am bound from Bristol and Plymouth, and hope to get into my winter-quarters, some time before Christmas. Glad should I be to travel for Jesus all the year round—it is more to me than my necessary food."‡

On Sunday, November 25, he opened the new Tabernacle at Bristol, which he says, "was very large, but not half large enough; for if the place could contain them, near as many would attend as in London." He also preached twice in his brother's great house, to the quality.

* Letter 996.
† Letter 997.
‡ Letter 999.

Though it was now so late in the year, he went to Somersetshire, and preached several times in the open air. In the evening, "my hands and body," says he, "were pierced with cold; but what are outward things, when the soul is warmed with the love of God! The stars shone exceeding bright; and, by an eye of faith, I saw Him *who calleth them all by their names.* My soul was filled with holy ambition, and I longed to be one of those, who *shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.*"*

The Rev. J. Wesley, his intimate friend, had at this time, by his diligence and zeal, brought his life into great danger; of which Mr. Whitefield thus writes—Bristol, December 3, 1753: "I am now hastening to London, to pay my last respects to my dying friend. The physician thinks his disease is a galloping consumption. I pity the church—I pity myself—but not him. Poor Mr. Charles will now have double work: *but we can do all things through Christ strengthening us.*" His letter to both the brothers on this occasion, are very affectionate and sympathizing. In his letter to the Rev. Charles Wesley, December 3, 1753, he says, "I cannot help sending after you a few sympathizing lines. The Lord help and support you! May a double spirit of the ascending Elijah, descend and rest on the surviving Elisha! Now is the time to prove the strength of Jesus yours. A wife, a friend, and brother, ill together. Well! this is our comfort, all things shall work together for good to those that love God. Glad should I be to reach heaven first; but faith and patience hold out a little longer. Yet a little while, and we shall be all together with our common Lord. I commend you to his everlasting love, and am, my dear friend, with much sympathy, yours, &c." To the Rev. John Wesley, he writes thus:—"If seeing you so weak when leaving

* Letter 1004.

London, distressed me, the news and prospect of your approaching dissolution hath quite weighed me down. I pity myself, and the church, but not you. A radiant throne awaits you, and ere long you will enter into your Master's joy. Yonder he stands with a massy crown, ready to put it on your head amidst an admiring throng of saints and angels. But I, poor I, that have been waiting for my dissolution these nineteen years, must be left behind to grovel here below: Well, this is my comfort, it cannot be long ere the chariots will be sent even for worthless me. If prayers can detain them, even you, reverend and very dear Sir, shall not leave us yet: but if the decree is gone forth, that you must now fall asleep in Jesus, may he kiss your soul away, and give you to die in the embraces of triumphant love. If in the land of the living, I hope to pay my last respects to you next week. If not, reverend and dear Sir, farewell. My heart is too big, tears trickle down too fast, and I fear you are too weak for me to enlarge. May underneath you be Christ's everlasting arms! I commend you to his never-failing mercy, and am, very dear Sir, your most affectionate, sympathizing, and afflicted younger brother in the gospel of our common Lord." Shortly after this he went to London, and soon had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Wesley recover.

December 26, he received a visit from Messrs. Tennent and Davies, from America, who came to England to raise contributions for the college of New Jersey. And being commissioned to apply for a general collection in Scotland, Mr. Whitefield gave them recommendatory letters, and heartily endeavoured to further their design. He spent the winter of 1753 in London, longing for a spring campaign, as he expressed it, that he might begin to do something for his divine master.

March 7, 1754, having got about twenty poor children under his care, he embarked for America, but put in at

Lisbon, where he stayed from the 20th of March, to the 13th of April.

From Lisbon he writes:—"This leaves me an old inhabitant of Lisbon. We have now been here almost a week, and I suppose shall stay a fortnight longer. A reputable merchant hath received me into his house, and every day shews me the ecclesiastical curiosities of the country. O my dear friend, bless the LORD of all lords for causing your lot to be cast into such a fair ground as England, and giving you such a goodly heritage. It is impossible to be sufficiently thankful for civil and religious liberty, for simplicity of worship, and powerful preaching of the word of God.—O for simplicty of manners, and a correspondent behaviour! The air agrees with my poor constitution extremely well. Through divine assistance, I hope what I see will also much improve my better part, and help to qualify me better for preaching the everlasting gospel." Again. "Never did civil and religious liberty appear to me in so amiable a light as now. What a spirit must Martin Luther, and the first reformers be endued with, that dared to appear as they did for God! Lord hasten that blessed time, when others, excited by the same spirit, shall perform like wonders. O happy England! O happy Methodists, who are Methodists indeed! And all I account such, who being dead to sects and parties, aim at nothing else but an holy method of living to, and dying in the blessed Jesus." Again. "This leaves me pretty well satisfied, not to say surfeited, with the ecclesiastical curiosities of Lisbon. This day fortnight we arrived; and the country being in want of rain, and it being Lent season, we have been favoured with frequent processions, and several extraordinary pieces of scenery. Alas! to what lengths will superstition run! And how expensive is the pageantry of a false religion! What engaged my attention most, was the number of crucifixes, and little images of

virgin Mary, and of other real or reputed saints, which were placed almost in every street, or fixed against the walls of the houses, almost at every turning, with lamps hanging before them. To these, I observed the people bow as they passed along; and near some of them stood several little companies, singing with great earnestness. This seemed to me very odd, and gave me an idea of what further ecclesiastical curiosities would probably fall in my way, if I should be detained here any time. These expectations were quickly raised; for, not long after my arrival at my lodgings, where I was received and entertained with great gentility, hospitality, and friendliness, upon looking out of the window, I saw a company of priests and friars bearing lighted wax tapers, and attended by various sorts of people, some of which had bags and baskets of victuals in their hands, and others carried provisions upon their shoulders on sticks between two. After these, followed a mixed multitude, singing with a very audible voice, and addressing the virgin Mary in their usual strain, "*Ora pro nobis.*" In this manner they proceeded to the prison, where all was deposited for the use of the poor persons confined therein. But a far more pompous procession of the like nature, as a stander-by informed me, passed by a few days before. In this there was near three hundred Franciscan friars, many of which, besides porters hired for the purpose, were loaded with a variety of food; and those who bore no burdens, carried either ladles or spoons in their hands. Sights of this nature being quite a novelty to me, I was fond of attending as many of them as I could. Two things concurred to make them more frequent at this juncture—the season of Lent, and an excessive drought, which threatened the total destruction of the fruits of the earth. For the averting so great a judgment, and for the imploring the much longed-for blessing of rain, daily processions had been made from

one convent or another, for a considerable time. One of these I saw: it was looked upon as a pretty grand one, being made up of the Carmelite friars, the parish priests, and a great number of what they call the brothers of the order, who walked two by two in divers habits, holding a long and very large lighted wax taper in their hands. Amidst these was carried, upon eight or ten men's shoulders, a tall image of the virgin Mary, in a kind of man's attire; for I think she had a very fine white wig on her head, a dress she often appears in, and was much adorned with jewels and glittering stones. At some distance from the lady, under a large canopy of state, and supported likewise by six or eight persons, came a priest, holding in his hand some noted relic. After him, followed several thousands of people, joining with the friars in singing, "*Eandem cantilenam, Ora pro nobis,*" all the way. Still rain was denied, and still processions were continued. At length the clouds began to gather, and the mercury in the barometer fell very much. There was brought out a wooden image, which they say never failed. It was the figure of our blessed Lord, cloathed with purple robes, and crowned with thorns. I think they called him the LORD OF THE PASSION. Upon his shoulders he bore a large cross, under the weight of which he was represented as stooping, till his body bent almost double. He was brought from the Le Grass Convent in very great pomp, and placed in a large cathedral church. Being on board at that time, I lost this sight; but the subsequent evening I beheld the SEIGNEUR fixed on an eminence in a large cathedral church, near the altar, surrounded with wax tapers of a prodigious size. He was attended by many noblemen, and thousands of spectators of all ranks and stations, who crowded from every quarter, and in their turns, were admitted by the guards to come within the rails, and perform their devotions. This they expressed

by kneeling, and kissing the SEIGNEUR'S heel, by putting their left and right eye to it, and then touching it with their beads, which a gentleman in waiting received from them, and then returned again. This scene was repeated for three days successively; and during all this time, the church and space before it, was so thronged with carriages and people, that there was scarce any passing. The music on this occasion was extremely soft, and the church was illuminated in a very striking manner. The third day in the forenoon it rained, and soon after the SEIGNEUR was conducted home in as great splendor, and with much greater rejoicing, than when he was brought forth. As my situation was very commodious, I saw the whole; and afterwards went and heard part of the sermon, which was delivered before the SEIGNEUR in the church to which he belonged. The preacher was full of action; and in some part of his discourse, as one who understood Portuguese informed me, pointing to the image, he said, "Now he is at rest. He went out in justice, but is returned in mercy." And toward the conclusion, he called upon the people to join with him in an extempore prayer. This they did with great fervency, which was expressed not only by repeating it aloud, but by beating their breasts, and clapping their cheeks, and weeping heartily. To complete the solemnity, immediately after the delivery of the blessing, all on a sudden, from the place near which the image stood, there was heard a most soft and soothing symphony of music, which being ended, the assembly broke up, and I returned to my lodgings; not a little affected, to see so many thousands led away from the simplicity of the gospel, by such a mixture of human artifice and blind superstition, of which indeed I could have formed no idea, had I not been an eye-witness. This concern was still increased, by what I heard from some of my fellow-passengers, who informed me, that

about eleven one night, after I came aboard, they not only heard a friar preaching most fervently before the SEIGNEUR, but also saw several companies of penitents brought in, lashing and whipping themselves severely. How little is this unlike to those who cut themselves with knives and lancets, and cried out from morning to night, 'O Baal, hear us.' Methinks I hear you say, 'And had I been present, I should have wished for the spirit of an Elijah to'———Hush, my friend, I am content to guess at the rest till we meet. In the mean while, let us comfort ourselves with this thought, that there is a season approaching, when the Lord God of Elijah will himself come, and destroy this and every other species of antichrist, by the breath of his mouth, and the brightness of his appearing, even by the all-conquering manifestations of his eternal spirit. Whether as men, christians, or Protestants, we have not more and more reason to pray night and day, for the hastening on of that glorious and long wished-for period, you will be better able to judge, when I send you, as I purpose to do, if I have time, a further account of a lent procession or two, of which I was also a spectator."

The following account of the procession of St. Francis Mr. Whitefield gives in a letter dated April 3, 1754, to the same friend.

My dear friend,

Though some other business demands my attention, yet I must not forget the promise made you of a further account of the processions I saw at Lisbon. Some of those already mentioned, were extraordinary, by reason of the great drought; but that which is to be the subject of my present letter, was an annual one: it being customary at Lisbon to exhibit some procession or another every Friday in lent. An intelligent Protestant, who stood near me, was so good as to be my interpreter of the dumb shew as it passed along. I say *dumb shew*:

for you must know it was chiefly made up of waxen or wooden images, carried on men's shoulders through the streets, intending to represent the life and death of St. Francis, the founder of one of their religious orders. They were brought out from the Franciscan convent, and were preceded by three persons in scarlet habits, with baskets in their hands, in which they received the alms of the spectators, for the benefit of the poor prisoners. After these, came two little boys in party-coloured cloaths, with wings fixed on their shoulders, in imitation of little angels. Then appeared the figure of St. Francis, very gay and beau-like, as he used to be before his conversion. In the next, he was introduced under conviction, and consequently stript of his finery. Soon after this, was exhibited an image of our blessed Lord himself, in a purple gown, with long black hair, with St. Francis lying before him, to receive his immediate orders. Then came the Virgin Mother, *(horresca referens)* with Christ her son at her left hand, and St. Francis making obeisance to both. Here, if I remember aright, he made his first appearance in his friar's habit, with his hair cut short, but not as yet shaved on the crown of his head. After a little space, followed a mitred cardinal gaudily attired, and before him lay St. Francis almost prostrate, in order to be confirmed in his office. Soon after this, he appears quite metamorphosed into a monk, his crown shorn, his habit black, and his loins girt with a knotted cord. Here he prays to our Saviour hanging on a cross, that the marks of the wounds in his hands, feet, and side, might be impressed on the same parts of his body. The prayer is granted; blood comes from the hands, feet, and side; and the saint, with great devotion, receives the impressions. This was represented by red waxen strings, reaching from those parts of the image to the corresponding parts of St. Francis's body. Upon this he begins to do wonders; and therefore, in a little while, he is

carried along, as holding up a house which was just falling. This miracle, they say, was performed, if my information be true, at Madrid, but the particulars of its history I have forgotten. At length the father died, and is brought forth lying in his grave. But lo! the briars and nettles under which he lay, are turned into fine fragrant flowers. After this he is borne along upon a bier covered with a silver pall, and four friars lamenting over him. He then appears for the last time, but with an increase of power; for he was represented as drawing tormented people out of purgatory with his knotted cord, which, as you may well imagine, the poor souls caught at, and took hold of very eagerly. At length came a gorgeous friar under a splendid canopy, bearing in his hand a piece of the holy cross. After him followed two more little winged boys, and then a long train of fat and well-favoured Franciscans, with their *Calceis Fenestratis*, as Erasmus calls them; and so the procession ended. Methinks I hear you say, 'It is full time;'—and so say I: for as the sight itself disgusted me, so I am persuaded the bare narration of it, though ever so short, cannot be very pleasant to one who I know abhors every thing that savours of superstition and idolatry. We will therefore take our leave of St. Francis, whose procession was in the day time: but I must tell you it is only to inform you of another of a much more awful and shocking nature, which I saw afterwards at night. About ten o'clock, being deeply engaged in conversation with my kind host, in came an Englishman, and told me in all haste, that he had seen a train of near two hundred penitents passing along, and that in all probability I might be gratified with the same sight, if I hastened to a place whither he would conduct me. I very readily obeyed the summons, and, as curiosity quickened my pace, we soon came up with some of these poor creatures, who were then making a halt, and kneeling in the street,

whilst a friar from a high cross, with an image of our Lord crucified in his hand, was preaching to them and the populace with great vehemence. Sermon being ended, the penitents went forward, and several companies followed after with their respective preaching friars at their head, bearing crucifixes. These they pointed to and brandished frequently, and the hearers as frequently beat their breasts, and clapped their cheeks. At proper pauses they stopped and prayed, and one of them, more zealous than the rest, before the king's palace, sounded the word *penitentia* through a speaking trumpet. The penitents themselves were clothed and covered all over with white linen vestments, only holes were made for their eyes, to peep out at. All were bare-footed, and all had long heavy chains fastened to their ancles, which, when dragged along the street, made a dismal rattling: but though alike in dress, yet in other respects there was great variety amongst them. For some carried great stones on their backs, and others dead men's bones and skulls in their hands. Some bore large and seemingly very heavy crosses upon their shoulders, whilst others had their arms extended quite wide, or carried a bow full of swords with the points downwards. Most of them whipped and lashed themselves, some with cords, and others with flat bits of iron. It being a moonlight night, I could see them quite well; and indeed some of them struck so hard, that I perceived their backs, left bare on purpose to be lashed, were quite red, and swoln very much by the violence and repetition of the blows. Had my dear friend been there, he would have joined with me in saying, that the whole scene was horrible; so horrible, that, being informed it was to be continued till morning, I was glad to return from whence I came about midnight. Had you been with me, I know you would have joined with me in praising and gratefully adoring the LORD of all lords, for the great wonder of

the reformation, and also for that glorious deliverance wrought out for us a few years past, in defeating the unnatural rebellion. O what a mighty spirit and power from on high must Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Zuinglius, and those glorious reformers, be necessarily endued with, who dared first openly to oppose and stem such a torrent of superstition and spiritual tyranny! and what gratitude owe we to those, who, under God, were instrumental in saving us from the return of such spiritual slavery, and such blind obedience to a papal power! To have had a papist for our king;—a papist, if not born, yet from his infancy nursed up at Rome; a papist, one of whose sons is advanced to the ecclesiastical dignity of a cardinal, and both under the strongest obligations to support the interest of that church, whose superstitions, as well as political state principles, they have sucked in, and imbibed even from their infancy. But, blessed be God, the snare is broken, and we are delivered. O for protestant practices to be added to protestant principles! O for an obediential acknowledgment to the ever-blessed God for our repeated deliverances! But alas!——Pardon me, my dear friend, I stop to weep. Adieu. I cannot enlarge, but leaving you to guess from what source my tears flow, I must hasten to subscribe myself, my dear friend, yours, &c."

In another letter, dated April 9, 1754, he observes, "The preachers here have also taught me something; their action is graceful. *Vividi oculi,—vividæ manus,—omnia vivida.* Surely our English preachers would do well, to be a little more fervent in their address. They have truth on their side, why should superstition and falshood run away with all that is pathetic and affecting?" In an another letter he says, "Vast are the outward preparations made here. Altars upon altars are erecting. Penitents upon penitents are walking and lashing themselves: but what I want to have erected and adorned, is

an altar in my heart, and the blows and lashes I desire to feel, are the crucifixion and mortification of the old man and its deeds. Without this, all is mere parade." Again he says, April 10, 1754, "To-morrow is what they call *Holy Thursday*. May I be as solicitous to have my heart illuminated by the spirit of God, as the people here are to illuminate their churches and altars. The pageantry is indeed incredible. Though I have been detained longer than expectation, yet I trust what I have seen and heard, will do me service in the future part of my life. O that I may be like a busy bee, and suck some honey even from superstitious flowers! I do not wonder now, whence the illuminations, dressing of altars, and those other things which I have lately mentioned in a public manner on another occasion, took their birth. It is all an imitation of what is daily practised abroad. May the Lord Jesus crush the cockatrice in its egg, and prevent its growing any bigger!"

The following letter contains a long and lively description of the superstitious and impious farces which he saw performed on *Holy Thursday*, as they call it; and concludes with suitable reflections, and sympathetic expressions, towards the poor deluded people, the unhappy dupes to their crafty and designing priests, who cruelly prevent them from examining the word of God.

My dear friend, *Lisbon, April 12, 1754.*

Providence still detains us at Lisbon, and therefore I know you will be enquiring what more news from thence? Truly, as extraordinary as ever: for I have now seen the solemnities of an *Holy Thursday*, which is a very high day in this metropolis, and particularly remarkable for the grand illuminations of the churches, and the king's washing twelve poor men's feet. Through the interest of a friend, I got admittance into the gallery where the ceremony was performed. It was large, and

hung with tapestry; one piece of which represented the humble Jesus washing the feet of his disciples. Before this, upon a small eminence, sat twelve men in black. At the upper end, and in several other parts of the gallery, were side-boards of large gold and silver basons and ewers, most curiously wrought; and near these a large table covered with a variety of dishes, all cold, set off and garnished after the Portuguese fashion. Public high mass being over, his majesty came in attended with his nobles, who seemed to me to look like so many Roman senators. The act of washing the feet, I did not get in time enough to see; but that being ended, several of the young noblemen served up the dishes to the king's brother and uncles; these again handed them to his majesty, who gave, I think, twelve of them in all to each poor man. Every thing was carried on with a great deal of decency and good humour. The young noblemen served very chearfully, their seniors looked quite pleased, and the king and his royal relations behaved in a very polite, easy manner,—upon the whole, though as you may easily guess, it was not an exact copy of the tapestry, yet, as the poor men's clothes and food, when sold, came to about ten moidores; and as there was a little mixture of superstition in it, I cannot say but I was as well pleased with my morning's entertainment as any thing I had seen since my arrival. I believe the whole took up near two hours. After dinner we went to see the churches; but the magnificence and sumptuousness of the furniture, cannot well be expressed. Many of them were hung on the occasion with purple damask trimmed with gold. In one of them there was a solid silver altar of several yards circumference, and near twelve steps high: and in another a gold one, still more magnificent, of about the same dimensions. Its basis was studded with many precious stones, and near the top were placed silver images, in representation of angels. Each step

was filled with large silver candlesticks, with wax tapers in them, which going up by a regular ascent, until they formed themselves into a pyramid, made a most glittering and splendid blaze. The great altars also of the other churches were illuminated most profusely, and silver pots of artificial flowers, with large wax tapers between each, were fixed all round several of them. Between these, were large paintings in black and white, representing the different parts of our Saviour's passion. And, in short, all was so magnificently, so superstitiously grand, that I am persuaded several thousands of pounds would not defray the expence of this one day. Go which way you would, nothing was to be seen but illuminations within, and hurry without. For all persons, princes and crowned heads themselves not excepted, are obliged on this day to visit seven churches or altars, in imitation, as is supposed, of our Lord's being hurried from one tribunal to another, before he was condemned to be hung upon the cross. I saw the queen pass by in great state to visit three of them. Velvet cushions were carried before her majesty, and boards laid along the streets for herself and retinue to walk upon. Guards attended before and behind, and thousands of spectators stood on each side to gaze at them as they passed along. Being desirous of seeing the manner of their entrance, we got into the last church before they came. It was that of St. Domingo, where was the gold altar before mentioned, and at which her majesty and train knelt about a quarter of an hour. All the while, the Dominican friars sung most surprisingly sweet. But as I stood near the altar, over against the great door, I must confess my very inmost soul was struck with a secret horror, when, upon looking up, I saw over the front of the great window of the church, the heads of many hundred Jews, painted on canvas, who had been condemned by what they call the *Holy Inquisition*, and carried out from that church to be

burned. Strange way this, of compelling people to come in! Such was not thy method, O meek and compassionate Lamb of God! thou camest not to destroy men's lives, but to save them. But bigotry is as cruel as the grave.—It knows no remorse.—From all its bitter and dire effects, good Lord deliver us!—But to return to the queen. Having performed her devotions, she departed and went in a coach of state, I believe, directly from the church to her palace, and without doubt sufficiently fatigued; for, besides walking through the streets to the several churches, her majesty also, and the princesses, had been engaged in waiting upon, and washing the feet of twelve poor women, in as public a manner as the king. In our walk home, we met his majesty with his brother and two uncles, attended only by a few noblemen in black velvet, and a few guards without halberts. I suppose he was returning from his last church, and, as one may well imagine, equally fatigued with his royal consort and daughters. When church and state thus combine to be nursing fathers and nursing mothers to superstition, is it any wonder that its credit and influence is so diffusive among the populace? O Britain! Britain! hadst thou but proportionable to thy knowledge, an inward purity adequate to the simplicity of thy external worship, in what a happy and godlike situation wouldst thou be! Here I could weep again. Again I leave you to guess the cause; and if I can send you one more letter of a like nature, before we leave this place, it is all you must expect from, my dear friend, your's most assuredly in our glorious Head, &c.

The following account of the representation of the crucifixion of the blessed Jesus, in one of the large churches, is curious.

My dear friend, *Lisbon, April* 12, 1754.

After the news already sent you, I thought our Lisbon correspondence would entirely have been put a stop to; for upon returning to my lodgings, as weary I believe, as others that had been running from church to church all day, word was sent me, that our ship would certainly sail the next morning. This news, I own, was not altogether agreeable to me, because I wanted to see the conclusion of the Lent solemnities. However, I made ready; and having dispatched my private affairs overnight, was conducted very early in the morning, by my kind host, down to Bellem, where the ship lay. We parted. The wind promised to be fair; but dying away, I very eagerly went ashore once more. But how was the scene changed! Before, all used to be noise and hurry,—now, all was hushed and shut up in the most awful and profound silence. No clock or bell had been heard since yesterday noon, and scarce a person was to be seen in the street all the way to Lisbon. About two in the afternoon we got to the place, where, I had heard some days ago, an extraordinary scene was to be exhibited. Can you guess what it was?—Perhaps not. Why then I will tell you. It was the crucifixion of the Son of God, represented partly by dumb images, and partly by living persons, in a large church belonging to the convent of St. De Beato. Several thousands crowded into it; some of whom, as I was told, had been waiting there from six in the morning. Through the kind interposition and assistance of a Protestant or two, I was not only admitted into the church, but was very commodiously situated to view the whole performance. We had not waited long before the curtain was drawn up. Immediately, upon a high scaffold hung in the front with black baize, and behind with silk purple damask, laced with gold, was exhibited to our view an image of the LORD JESUS at full length, crowned with thorns, and

nailed on a cross between two figures of like dimensions, representing the two thieves. At a little distance on the right hand, was placed an image of the Virgin Mary, in plain long ruffles, and a kind of widow-weeds. Her veil was purple silk, and she had a wire glory round her head. At the foot of the cross lay, in a mournful posture, a living man, dressed in woman's clothes, who personated Mary Magdalen; and not far off stood a young man, in imitation of the beloved disciple. He was dressed in a loose green silk vesture, and bob-wig. His eyes were fixed on the cross, and his hands a little extended. On each side, near the front of the stage, stood two sentinels in buff, with formidable caps and long beards; and directly in the front stood another yet more formidable, with a large target in his hand. We may suppose him to be the Roman centurion. To compleat the scene, from behind the purple hangings came out about twenty little purple-vested winged boys, two by two, each bearing a lighted wax taper in his hand, and a crimson and gold cap on his head. At their entrance upon the stage, they gently bowed their heads to the spectators, then kneeled and made obeisance, first to the image on the cross, and then to that of the Virgin Mary. When risen, they bowed to each other, and then took their respective places over-against one another, on steps assigned for them at the front of the stage. Opposite to this, at a few yards distance, stood a black friar in a pulpit hung in mourning. For a while he paused, and then, breaking silence, gradually lifted up his voice until it was extended to a pretty high pitch, though I think scarce high enough for so large an auditory. After he had proceeded in his discourse about a quarter of an hour, a confused noise was heard near the front great door; upon turning my head, I saw four long-bearded men, two of which carried a ladder on their shoulders, and after them followed two more with

large gilt dishes in their hands, full of linen, spices, &c. These, as I imagined, were the representatives of Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea. On a signal given from the pulpit, they advanced toward the steps of the scaffold. But upon their first attempting to mount it, at the watchful centurion's nod, the observant soldiers made a pass at them, and presented the points of their javelins directly to their breasts. They are repulsed. Upon this a letter from Pilate is produced. The centurion reads it, shakes his head, and with looks that bespoke a forced compliance, beckons to the sentinels to withdraw their arms. Leave being thus obtained, they ascend; and having paid their homage, by kneeling first to the image on the cross, and then to the Virgin Mary, they retired to the back of the stage. Still the preacher continued declaiming, or rather, as was said, explaining the mournful scene. Magdalen persists in wringing her hands, and variously expressing her personated sorrow; whilst John, seemingly regardless of all besides, stood gazing on the crucified figure. By this time it was near three o'clock, and therefore proper for the scene to begin to close. The ladders are ascended, the superscription and crown of thorns taken off, long white rollers put round the arms of the image, and then the nails knocked out which fastened the hands and feet. Here Mary Magdalen looks most languishing, and John, if possible, stands more thunderstruck than before. The orator lifts up his voice, and almost all the hearers expressed concern by weeping, beating their breasts, and smiting their cheeks. At length the body is gently let down. Magdalen eyes it, and, gradually rising, receives the feet into her widespread handkerchief; whilst John, who hitherto stood motionless like a statue, as the body came nearer the ground, with an eagerness that bespoke the intense affection of a sympathizing friend, runs towards the cross,

seizes the upper part of it into his clasping arms, and, with his disguised fellow-mourner, helps to bear it away. And here the play should end, was I not afraid you would be angry with me, if I did not give you an account of the last act, by telling you what became of the corpse after it was taken down. Great preparations were made for its interment. It was wrapped in linen and spices, &c. and being laid upon a bier richly hung, was afterwards carried round the church-yard in grand procession. The image of the Virgin Mary was chief mourner, and John and Magdalen, with a whole troop of friars with wax tapers in their hands, followed after. Determined to see the whole, I waited its return, and in about a quarter of an hour the corpse was brought in, and deposited in an open sepulchre prepared for the purpose; but not before a priest, accompanied by several of the same order in splendid vestments, had perfumed it with incense, sung to, and kneeled before it. John and Magdalen attended the obsequies; but the image of the Virgin Mary was carried away and placed upon the front of the stage, in order to be kissed, adored, and worshipped by the people. This I saw them do with the utmost eagerness and reverence. And thus ended this good Friday's tragi-comical, superstitious, idolatrous farce. A farce, which whilst I saw, as well as now whilst I am describing it, excited in me a high indignation. Surely, thought I, whilst attending on such a scene of mock devotion, if ever, now is the LORD JESUS crucified afresh; and I could then, and even now, think of no other plea for the poor beguiled devotees, than that which suffering innocence put up himself for his enemies, when actually hanging upon the cross—"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." There was but one thing wanting to raise one's resentment to the highest pitch, and that was, for one of the soldiers to have pierced the side of the image upon the cross.

This in all probability you have heard hath actually been done in other places, and with a little more art, might, I think, have been performed here. Doubtless it would have afforded the preacher as good, if not a better opportunity of working upon the passions of his auditory, than the taking down the superscription and crown of thorns, and wiping the head with a blooded cloth, and afterwards exposing it to the view of the people; all which I saw done before the body was let down. But alas! my dear friend, how mean is that eloquence, and how entirely destitute of the demonstration of the spirit, and of a divine power, must oratory necessarily be, that stands in need of such a train of superstitious pageantry to render it impressive! Think you, my dear friend, that the apostle Paul used or needed any such artifices to excite the passions of the people of Galatia, amongst whom, as he himself informs us, "Jesus Christ was crucified, and evidently set forth?" But thus it is, and thus it will be, when simplicity and spirituality are banished from our religious offices, and artifice and idolatry seated in their room. I am well aware that the Romanists deny the charge of idolatry; but after having seen what I have seen this day, as well as at sundry other times since my arrival here, I cannot help thinking but a person must be capable of making more than metaphysical distinctions, and deal in very abstract ideas indeed, fairly to evade the charge. If weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, I am positive the scale must turn on the protestant side. But such a balance these poor people are not permitted to make use of! Doth not your heart bleed for them? Mine doth I am sure, and I believe would do so more and more, was I to stay longer, and see what they call their hallelujah, and grand devotions on Easter-day. But that scene is denied me. The wind is fair,

and I must away. Follow me with your prayers, and believe me to be, my dear friend, your's, &c."

Leaving Lisbon, after a passage of six weeks, he arrived May 27, at Beaufort, in South Carolina, with his orphans, all in health. Having settled them in his family in Georgia, which now consisted of upwards of one hundred, and spent some time in Carolina, he made an excursion to the northward.

"At Charlestown," says he, "and other parts of Carolina, my poor labours have met with the usual acceptance; and I have reason to hope a clergyman hath been brought under very serious impressions. My health is wonderfully preserved. My wonted vomitings have left me; and though I ride whole nights, and have been frequently exposed to great thunders, violent lightnings, and heavy rains, yet I am rather better than usual, and as far as I can judge, am not yet to die. O that I may at length learn to begin to live! I am ashamed of my sloth and lukewarmness, and long to be on the stretch for God!"*

He arrived at New York, by water, July 27, and preached backwards and forwards from New York to Philadelphia, and Whitely Creek, till the middle of September. "Every where," he observes, "a divine power accompanied the word, prejudices were removed, and a more effectual door opened than ever for preaching the gospel."†

The latter end of September, he enjoyed the pleasure of meeting his venerable old friend, governor Belchier, at Elizabeth Town, New Jerseys.‡ And it being the

* Letter 1048.

† Letter 1060.

‡ When Mr. Whitefield was in this country, the Rev. William Tennent paid him a visit; and dined together, with other ministers, at a gentleman's house. After dinner Mr. Whitefield adverted to the difficulties attending the gospel-ministry; lamented that

New Jersey commencement, the president and trustees presented Mr. Whitefield with the degree of M.A. The meeting of the synod succeeded, before whom he preached several times; and had much satisfaction in their company. "To-morrow," says he, "October 1, God willing, I shall set out with the worthy president,

all their zeal availed but little; said that he was weary with the burdens of the day; declared his great consolation was, that in a short time his work would be done, when he should depart and be with Christ; he then appealed to the ministers, if it was not their great comfort that they should soon go to rest. They generally assented, except Mr. Tennent who sat next to Mr. W. in silence; and by his countenance discovered but little pleasure in the conversation. Mr. W. tapping him on the knee, said, "Well! brother Tennent, you are the oldest man amongst us, do you not rejoice to think that your time is so near at hand, when you will be called home?" Mr. T. bluntly answered, "I have no wish about it." Mr. W. pressed him again; and Mr. T. again answered, "No, Sir, it is no pleasure to me at all; and if you knew your duty, it would be none to you. I have nothing to do with death; my business is to live as long as I can, as well as I can, and to serve my Master as faithfully as I can, until he shall think proper to call me home." Mr. W. still urged for an explicit answer to his question, in case the time of death were left to his own choice. Mr. T. replied, "I have no choice about it; I am God's servant, and have engaged to do his business as long as he pleases to continue me therein. But now, brother, let me ask you a question. What do you think I would say, if I was to send my man Tom into the field to plough; and if at noon I should go to the field, and find him lounging under a tree, and complaining, 'Master, the sun is very hot, and the ploughing very hard, I am weary of the work you have appointed me, and am overdone with the heat and burden of the day: do master, let me return home, and be discharged from this hard service?'—What would I say? Why, that he was a lazy fellow; that it was his business to do the work I had appointed him, until I should think fit to call him home." The pleasant manner in which this reproof was administered, rather increased the social harmony of the company; who became satisfied that it was very possible to err, even in desiring with undue earnestness "to depart to be with Christ, which is far better" than to remain in this imperfect state; and that it is the duty of the christian in this respect to say, "all the days of my appointed time will I wait till my change come."—*See Memoirs of the Rev. William Tennent in the Evangelical Magazine, for July* 1807.

Mr. Burr, for New England, and expect to return back to the orphan-house, through Virginia. This will be about a TWO THOUSAND miles circuit; but the Redeemer's strength will be more than sufficient." He likewise wished, had it been practicable, to stop some time at the West Indies, before he returned to England.

October 9, he arrived at Boston, accompanied by president Burr, where he remained a week, preaching with great success. "At Rhode Island and Boston," he says, "souls fly to the gospel, like *doves to their windows*. Opposition seems to fall daily." To his great joy, while at Boston, he heard the welcome news, that a governor was at last appointed for Georgia, to whom his friend, Mr. Habersham, was made secretary. To him he writes, "may the King of kings enable you to discharge your trust, as becomes a good patriot, subject, and christian!"*

He now travelled north as far as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, always preaching two or three times a day. At Boston he met with a far more agreeable reception than formerly; and his ministry, in general, seemed to be attended with as great a blessing as ever.†

November 7, at four o'clock in the morning, he took an affectionate leave of his friends in Boston, proceeded to Rhode Island, and went onward through Maryland and Virginia, with a prospect so pleasing, that he lamented he had not come sooner. The whole country seemed eager to hear the gospel, many coming forty or fifty miles, and a spirit of conviction and consolation appeared in every congregation. Prejudices seemed to have fled—churches were opened to him—high and low, rich and poor, now seemed to think favourably of his ministrations; many acknowledged what God had

* Letter 1062, and 1064.
† Letter 1068.

done for their souls, through his preaching, when he was there before.*

In February, 1755, he went back to Charlestown, and then to Savannah, preaching as usual; till in the latter end of March he embarked for England, and arrived safe, the 8th of May, at Newhaven in Sussex.†

The chief thing which he took notice of, on his landing once more in his native country, was the wonderful success of the gospel. "Glory be to the great head of the church! the word hath still free course. The poor despised Methodists are as lively as ever: and in several churches the gospel is now preached with power. Many in Oxford are awakened to the knowledge of the truth; and I have heard almost every week of some fresh minister, or another, that seems *determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified.*"‡ This consideration re-animated him. He seemed to preach with increasing energy and success in London, Bristol, Bath, and in Gloucestershire, till the month of August. He then went to open the Tabernacle, at Norwich. "At this last place," he says, "notwithstanding offences have come, there has been a glorious work begun, and is now carrying on, (August 30, 1755.) The polite and great seem to hear with much attention; and I scarce ever preached a week together with greater freedom."‖

Soon after this, he set out on his northern circuit; and the Lord wonderfully blessed his labours all the way, especially at Northampton, Liverpool, Bolton,

* Letter 1071, and 1074.

† Letter 1077.

‡ Letter 1081, and 1082. In the MS. he puts down the names of Jones, Romaine, and Madan, of whom it appears he intended to have written more particularly.

‖ Letter 1095.

Manchester, Leeds, Bradford, York, &c.* He proposed to go to Ireland; but after spending a few days at Newcastle, he found it was too late to go there, or even to Scotland; he therefore returned to London, having preached two or three times a-day for two months, to many thousands. "Next to Jesus," says he, "my king and country, were upon my heart. I hope I shall always think it my bounden duty, next to inviting sinners to the blessed Jesus, to exhort my hearers to exert themselves against the first approaches of popish tyranny, and arbitrary power.† O that we may be enabled to watch and pray, against all the opposition of antichrist in our heart! for after all, there lies the most dangerous *man of sin.*"‡

In November, he caught cold, and preached in much pain, having a sore throat: this obliged him to be silent for a few days; as it was feared, it would end in an inflammatory quinsey. But as soon as the danger was over, he could not be restrained from his Master's work.‖

Application being now made to him, by many persons, to preach twice a week at Long Acre Chapel, near the theatres, upon being assured that the place was licensed, he preached his first sermon there, December 23, 1755; but not without great opposition. He received a prohibition from the bishop of B———. A number of

* "At York, I hope a fine gentleman was touched; and several, I find, were awakened there, and at Newcastle, at my last visit." Letter 1102.

† This refers to the encroachments made by the French upon the British colonies in America; and their threatening Great Britain with an invasion; which occasioned a declaration of war against France, next year.

‡ Letter 1104, and 1105.

‖ "One physician prescribed a *perpetual blister*; but I have found *perpetual preaching* to be a better remedy. When this great catholicon fails, it is over with me." Letter 1114.

soldiers, drummers and many other evil-disposed persons, were employed to make a noise in an adjoining house, or yard, belonging to a Mr. C——: these raised a dreadful uproar, and that as often as Mr. Whitefield preached. They were hired by subscription, and supplied with drums, bells, &c. keeping up a continual din, from the beginning, to the end of his sermon. Thus mobs were excited to riot at the doors of the chapel, insulting and abusing both preacher and hearers, as soon as service was over. They repeatedly broke the windows with large stones, by which several of the congregation were severely wounded. In consequence of these unwarrantable proceedings, Mr. Whitefield wrote several spirited letters to the bishop of B———; in one of them he thanks his lordship for his candour, favourable opinion, and good wishes, the bishop having answered his first letter; but yet, in a manly stile, and with a just sense of British liberty, defended his own conduct, and powerfully remonstrated against the riotous proceedings of his enemies. "Last Tuesday night," says he, "all was hushed, and in order to throw off all popular odium, I gave it as my opinion, that it was owing to your lordship's kind interposition. One Mr. C———, and one Mr. M———, I am informed, are greatly concerned. I know them not; and I pray the Lord of all lords, never to lay this ill and unmerited treatment to their charge. If no more noise is made on their part, I assure your lordship, no further resentment shall be made on mine. But, if they persist, I have the authority of the apostle, on a like occasion, to appeal unto Cæsar; and thanks be to God, we have a Cæsar to appeal to, whose laws will not suffer any of his loyal subjects to be used in such an inhuman manner. I have only one favour to beg of your lordship, that you would send, as they are your lordship's parishioners, to the above gentlemen, and desire them, henceforward to desist from such unchristian, and espe-

cially, at this critical juncture, such riotous and dangerous proceedings. Whether as a chaplain to a most worthy peeress, and a presbyter of the church of England, and a steady disinterested friend to our present happy constitution, I have not a right to ask such a favour, I leave to your lordship's mature deliberation."* In the mean time, his preaching was owned by God, particularly to one, who had been a subscriber to hire rioters to make a noise.†

In the beginning of February, 1756, he sent eighty pounds of the collection which he had made at the Tabernacle, on the day of the public fast, to the society for relieving the poor persecuted French Protestants.‡

The riots at Long Acre Chapel still continuing, with increasing violence, his friends persuaded him to prosecute those notorious offenders against all law and decency: which being known, his life was threatened. At the Tabernacle,‖ a man came up to him in the pulpit: and three anonymous letters were sent him, denouncing certain and sudden death, unless he desisted from preaching and pursuing the offenders. As the matter concerned not only himself, but the public also, and struck at the welfare of civil government, he sent a copy of one of the letters to the honourable Hume C——ll, begging the favour of his advice; who advised him, by all means, to put all concerned into the Court of King's-Bench.§ The earl of Holderness, one of the secretaries of state, to whom he was introduced on this occasion, received him very courteously, seeming inclined to offer

* Letters 1112, 1117, 1119, 1120, 1122, and 1124.

† Letter 1116.

‡ Letter 1118. This year, 1756, he published, "A short Address to Persons of all Denominations, occasioned by the Alarm of an intended Invasion."—*See Vol. IV. of his Works.*

‖ Letter 1129.

§ Letter 1127, and 1129.

a reward for the discovery of the letter-writer. "I find," says Mr. Whitefield, in a letter to lady Huntingdon, May 2, 1756, that all things happen for the furtherance of the gospel. I suppose your ladyship has seen his majesty's promise of a pardon, to any that will discover the writer; and this brings the further news of my having taken a piece of ground, very commodious to build on, not far from the Foundling Hospital. I have opened the subscription, and through God's blessing, it has already amounted to near six hundred pounds. I hope, in a few months, to have what hath long been wanted, a place for the gospel at the other end of the town. This evening, God willing, I venture once more to preach at Long Acre." The place he here speaks of, is the chapel in Tottenham-Court-Road, which he began to build, May 10, 1756.

Soon after this, he again made his favourite tour, successfully preaching about three weeks at the following places: at Bristol, and in Gloucestershire; at Bradford, Fromer, Warminster, and at Portsmouth;* and returned to London in the beginning of June.

In a letter, dated July 27, he says, "The gospel flourishes in London. I am just returned from preaching at Sheerness, Chatham, and in the camp." The next day he set off for Scotland.† On his journey he writes thus:—"Sunderland, August 14, 1756. How swiftly doth my precious time fly away! It is now a fortnight since I came to Leeds; in, and about which, I preached eight days, thrice almost every day, to thronged and affected auditories. On Sunday last, at Bradford, in the morning, the auditory consisted of about ten thousand; at noon, and in the evening, at Birstall, to near double the number. Though hoarse,

* Letter 1139.
† Letter 1145.

I was helped to speak so, that all heard. Next morning, I took a sorrowful leave of Leeds; preached at Doncaster at noon, and at York, the same night. On Wednesday, at Warstall, about fifty miles off—on Thursday, twice at Yaran; and last night, and this morning, here." Wherever he came, he heard of the good effects of his preaching in those parts last year.

Upon receiving pressing invitations, by letter, from friends in Scotland, he again set out, and arrived at Edinburgh, August 20; where, and at Glasgow, he continued to preach with much acceptance, and peculiar success. The Glasgow Courant has the following accounts:—

Edinburgh, September 9, 1756.

"For near these three weeks, the Rev. Mr. Whitefield hath been preaching in the Orphan Hospital Park, to very crowded auditories, twice every day. As he was frequently very explicit in opening the miseries of popish tyranny and arbitrary power, and very warm in exhorting his hearers to loyalty and courage at home, and in stirring them up to pray for the success of his majesty's forces both by sea and land abroad, we have reason to believe, that his visit at this juncture, hath been particularly useful."

Edinburgh, September 23.

"On Sunday evening, the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, after sermon, made a collection for the poor highlanders, when upwards of sixty pounds sterling was collected."

September 22, he received a message from the new governor of Georgia in London, desiring to see and converse with him, concerning the affairs of the colony, before he embarked.*

In his way to London, he stopped at Leeds, and went some days into good Mr. G—— and J——'s round,

* Letter 1148.

preaching to great multitudes on the mountains; but the appearance of a return of his last year's disorder, obliged him to hasten to town. And November 7, he opened his new Chapel in Tottenham Court Road, preaching from 1 Cor. iii. 11. *For other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.**

CHAP. XVI.

From opening the Chapel in Tottenham-Court Road, to his arrival in Edinburgh, in the year 1759.

HIS constant work was now preaching about fifteen times a week, which, with a weak appetite, want of rest,† and much care lying upon his mind, reduced him to a state of great bodily weakness. "But yet," says he, "the joy of the Lord is my strength; and my greatest grief is, that I can do no more for Him, who has done and suffered so much for me."‡

His new Chapel succeeded according to his wish. On Sunday mornings, hundreds went away not being able to get in.‖ Several people of rank were desirous of obtaining constant seats; and a very affecting letter was received from one under convictions, who acknowledged that curiosity alone brought him first to see

* Letter 1149, and MS.

† "I could enlarge, but it is near six in the morning, and I must away to preach." Letter 1157.

‡ Letter 1153.

‖ Letter 1156.

what sort of a place it was.* And here it may not be improper to take notice of another remarkable effect of the free and sovereign love of God. Mr. Whitefield mentions, "that a man of good parts, ready wit, and lively imagination, who had made it his business, in order to furnish matter for preaching over a bottle, to come and hear, and then carry away scraps of my sermons; having one night got sufficient to work upon, as he thought, attempted to go out; but being pent in on every side, found his endeavours fruitless. Obliged thus to stay, and looking up to me, waiting for some fresh matter for ridicule, God was pleased to prick him to the heart. He came to Mr. P—— full of horrors, confessing his crimes, and longed to ask my pardon." It is also said, that David Hume, Esq. of Edinburgh, was a hearer of Mr. Whitefield, and was much taken with his eloquence. Such testimonies as the latter, are recorded merely for their singularity.†

* "A neighbouring doctor calls the place, WHITEFIELD'S SOUL-TRAP. I pray the friend of sinners, to make it a soul-trap indeed, to many wandering creatures. Shuter, the player, makes always one of the auditory; and, as I hear, is much impressed, and brings others with him." Letter 1163.

† An intimate friend of the infidel Hume, asked him what he thought of Mr. Whitefield's preaching; for he had listened to the latter part of one of his sermons at Edinburgh. "He is, Sir," said Mr. Hume, "the most ingenious preacher I ever heard. It is worth while to go twenty miles to hear him." He then repeated the following passage which he heard, towards the close of that discourse: "After a solemn pause, Mr. Whitefield thus addressed his numerous audience:—'The attendant angel is just about to leave the threshold, and ascend to heaven. And shall he ascend and not bear with him the news of one sinner, among all this multitude, reclaimed from the error of his ways?' To give the greater effect to this exclamation, he stamped with his foot, lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, and with gushing tears, cried aloud, 'Stop, Gabriel! Stop, Gabriel! Stop, ere you enter the sacred portals, and yet carry with you the news of one sinner converted to God.' He then, in the most simple, but energetic language, described what he called a Sa-

In 1757, he again took his circuit northward, and came to Edinburgh some time in the month of May, and at the time of the annual meeting of the general assembly, a circumstance which afforded him much satisfaction. His preaching was attended by many ministers; it is said, a hundred at a time. Many of them appeared to be deeply affected: and thus their prejudices were removed. About thirty of them, as a proof of their regard, invited him to a public entertainment. His majesty's commissioner, lord Cathcart, also invited him to his table. And his lordship's predecessor, the earl of L——, shewed particular attention to Mr. Whitefield, as indeed he had constantly done from the time of his first coming to Scotland. Multitudes, and a great many of them of the highest rank, daily flocked to hear him. The congregations still increased more and more.

Leaving Edinburgh, he arrived at Glasgow, June 8, having preached twice by the way, and continued preaching as usual, till the 14th, in the High Church-yard, to large congregations, twice a-day; and both forenoon and afternoon, in a church in the city.

Seeing the pitiable condition the poor of Glasgow were in at this time, notwithstanding the bounty of the affluent and humane, he with the concurrence of the magistrates, at his sermon on Monday evening, made a collection for them, amounting to near sixty pounds. Next day he preached at Paisley; and immediately set out for Ireland.

viour's dying love to sinful man; so that almost the whole assembly melted into tears. This address was accompanied with such animated, yet natural action, that it surpassed any thing I ever saw or heard in any other preacher."

Happy had it been for poor Hume had he then received what he then heard "as the word of God, and not as the word of man!"

His reception in Dublin was as promising as formerly; the congregations were very large, and a blessing appeared to attend his preaching, many being much affected. A certain prelate told a noble lord, that he was glad Mr. Whitefield was come to rouse the people. Persons of all ranks attended, and all seemed, in some measure, affected with the solemn truths which he delivered.

On Sunday afternoon, having preached in Oxmantown-Green, a place much frequented by large parties of the Ormond and Liberty Boys, as they were called, who often fought there, he very narrowly escaped with his life. It being war time, he had earnestly exhorted his hearers, as was his usual practice, not only to fear God, but also to honour the king; and prayed for the success of his Prussian majesty's arms. While he was preaching, and earnest in prayer, some stones were thrown at him, which providentially did him no hurt. But when he had done, endeavouring to return the way that he came by the barracks, to his great surprize, access was denied; so that he was obliged to walk near half a mile over the green, through some hundreds of rioters, &c. who perceiving him to be alone, four preachers and a soldier having deserted him, and fled, threw showers of stones upon him from every quarter, which made him reel backwards and forwards, till he was almost breathless, and covered with a gore of blood.* At length, with the greatest difficulty, he staggered to the door of a minister's house, near the green, which was humanely opened to him. For a considerable time he remained speechless, and gasping for breath; but his weeping friends having

* "I received many blows and wounds; one was particularly large, and near my temples. I thought of Stephen; and was in hopes, like him, to go off in this bloody triumph, to the immediate presence of my Master." Letter 1170.

given him some cordials, and washed his wounds, procured a coach, in which, amidst vollies of oaths, horrid imprecations, and violent threatnings of the rabble, he got safe home; and joined in a hymn of thanksgiving with his mourning, yet rejoicing friends; of whom, he says, "none but spectators could form an idea of the affection with which I was received."*

* It was under this sermon, that the late Rev. John Edwards, was impressed with the great importance of religion. Mr. Whitefield, in the sermon alluded to, addressed the consciences of the people with such peculiar energy and success, that Mr. E. thought every word was personally directed to *him*, though he had concealed himself from the preacher's view, and to whom he was entirely unknown.

In what period of his life he entered on the work of the ministry we cannot learn. Several years he preached in connexion with Mr. Wesley; but some disagreeable circumstances existing in the society at Leeds, he, and a number of friends, attached to him as the instrument of their spiritual knowledge and happiness, after much deliberation with each other, and prayer to God, withdrew themselves, and built another chapel, where he continued to dispense the word of life for more than thirty years.

Before he settled at Leeds, in the year 1755, he *went about doing good*, after the example of the Friend of sinners. He endured the cross, and despised the shame. In Ireland he travelled and laboured much in the early part of his ministry; and the effects of his humble exertions to diffuse the knowledge of Christ, were crowned with abundant success. At one time while he resided in Dublin, as he was returning from preaching at a village, a party of rude fellows, called the *Ormond Boys*, who used to assemble in the evening, recognised him as *swaddling John*,(a) a term of reproach applied to the Methodist preachers in Ireland; and seized him with all the madness of their enmity against the truth he preached, declared they would throw

(a) This term of reproach originated in the following circumstance:—Soon after the introduction of Methodism into Ireland, the late Rev. John Cennick was preaching in Dublin on a Christmas-day. His text was Luke ii. 12. *Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling-clothes, and lying in a manger.* A drunken fellow, who was listening at the door, to pick up something by which he might ridicule this new religion, which had not yet obtained a name; hearing the word *swaddling* often repeated, ran along the street, exclaiming with great vulgarity, *O! these people are Swaddlers, they are Swaddlers!* The name quickly took, and became the badge of opprobrium through the kingdom of Ireland.

The next morning, though extremely weak, he set out for Portarlington, "leaving," he says, "my per-

him over the bridge into the Liffey. This was observed by an opposite party, who had assumed the appellation of *Liberty boys*, residing on the other side of the river: they immediately encountered his assailants, determined they would rescue him out of their hands. This they accomplished, and carried him home in triumph; saying he was their *swaddling John*, for he lived on *their* side of the river, and none should hurt him. Thus God preserved his life, and made both the wrath and ignorance of man to praise him.

At another time, having preached out of doors—after he had finished his discourse, a furious mob of the White Boys beset the house into which he had entered, and threatened to burn it to the ground, if he was permitted to continue in it. This desperate menace greatly alarmed the inhabitants, who were extremely unwilling to gratify their wicked desire. There was, however, but one way for his escape, and that was through a window, which opened into a garden belonging to a justice of the peace, who was himself a bitter persecutor of the Methodists; through this window he was let down in a basket. Here he stood some time in great consternation, fearing the family would observe him, and charge him with having broken into their garden for bad purposes, and that thereby both himself and religion might be injured. At length he ventured to knock at the door; asked for the 'squire; and being introduced, ingenuously stated the circumstances of his distressed situation, which had such an effect on the magistrate's mind, that he protected and entertained him at his house two days in an hospitable manner.

He was sincere in all his pastoral engagements—deeply impressed with the vast importance of his work, and greatly loved by his congregation. The salvation of souls excited his watchfulness, his prayers, and his zeal; and in his whole life he was an *epistle of Christ, known and read of all men.*

Governed by a disinterested concern for the peace and prosperity of the people committed to his charge, he was *instant in season, and out of season; reproving, rebuking, and exhorting, with all long-suffering and gentleness:*

> "And, as a bird each fond endearment tries
> To tempt its new-fledg'd offspring to the skies;
> He tried each art, reprov'd each dull delay,
> Allur'd to brighter worlds, and led the way."

On the 17th February, 1785, aged 71, he bid adieu to all his connexions in this mortal life, and entered into his eternal rest.

secutors to His mercy, who of persecutors has often made preachers. I pray God, I may thus be avenged of them!"*

Having preached at Portarlington, Athlone, Limerick, and Cork; in the beginning of August, he returned to England: and whenever the weather was favourable, continued to range, as he termed it, every where preaching with as great earnestness and apparent success as ever. "This spiritual hunting," says he, "is delightful sport, when the heart is in the work!"† At Plymouth, he had the pleasure of seeing officers, soldiers, sailors, &c. attending divine worship with becoming reverence and delight. He enjoyed also delightful seasons in Exeter, Bristol, Gloucester, &c. &c. and about the middle of October 1757, returned to London.

By his unremitted attendance this winter at the Chapel and the Tabernacle, together with much study and care, his health became greatly impaired. Weakened as he was by continual vomitings, want of sleep, and loss of appetite, he, however, still went on as well as he could. "I am brought now," says he, "to the short allowance of preaching but once a-day, and thrice on a Sunday."‡ And when disengaged from his public ministrations, he was ever projecting some plan or other for the advancement of religion: as the erecting of almshouses for religious widows, on the ground which surrounded the chapel. "I have a plan," says he, "for twelve. The whole expense will be four hundred pounds. I have got a prospect of two. I propose allowing each widow half-a-crown a week. The sacrament money will more than do. If this be effected, many godly widows will be provided for, and a standing monument

* Letter 1170.
† Letter 1174.
‡ Letter 1187.

left that the Methodists were not against good works."* In a short time he put this plan into execution. February 16, 1758, the foundation of the alms-house was laid, and the widows began to be admitted in the June following.

His summer circuit this year, he began at Gloucester: from whence he proceeded to Bristol, and onward to Wales. During his stay in that country, his health was much on the decline; so that he could not sit up in company, as he had been used to do; and could take but little food. Yet, notwithstanding his infirmities, he continued his journey through great part of South Wales, incredible multitudes attending his preaching wherever he went.†

In the month of July, he set off for Scotland. In his way, he preached at Everton, St. Neot's, Kayso, Bedford, Oulney, Weston, Underwood, Ravenstone, Northampton, and Newcastle. Four clergymen lent him their pulpits. His bodily strength so little increased by this journey, that he frequently found an inclination to turn back. But he did not think it consistent with his duty. "Through divine strength," says he, "I hope to go forward; and shall strive, as much as in me lies, to die in this glorious work."‡ Yet, through the divine blessing, his health was greatly increased, soon after his return from Scotland. From Edinburgh, he writes, August 19 and 24:—"For these four months past, I have been brought so exceedingly low in my body, that I was in hopes every sermon I preached would waft me to my wished for home. Scotland, I hoped, would finish my warfare; but it has rather driven me back to sea again. On Tuesday next, I thought to have moved; but as it is race-week, and my health is

* Letters 1187, and 1189.
† Letters 1203, and 1206.
‡ Letter 1209.

improving, friends advise me to stay, to stir them up to *run with patience the race that is set before us.*"—The following account appeared in the Glasgow Courant.

EDINBURGH, September 14, 1758. Mr. Whitefield's presence, at this time, has been particularly useful to the Orphan Hospital, for which upwards of two hundred pounds has been raised from the collection at the doors, and seat rents. Before he left Glasgow, he made a collection for the Glasgow Charitable Highland Society, for supporting the highland children; a scheme particularly useful at this time, when so many of their parents and friends are abroad in America, in his majesty's service. During his stay here, he has had occasion to preach three thanksgiving sermons for the victory of Crevelt, the taking of Cape Breton, and the late defeat of the Russians. By his warm and repeated exhortations to loyalty, and a steady adherence to the Protestant interest on this and all other occasions, it must be acknowledged, even in this view, his visit here has been useful to the community in a civil, as well as a religious light."

Having left Edinburgh, he preached, with his usual abundant liberty and success in most of the principal towns, &c. in the north of England; and about the end of October, arrived in London.

His affairs in America being in a prosperous state, he now began to think of going over to Georgia again. "Blessed be God," says he, "that I can send you word, a never-failing Providence hath put it in my power to pay off all Bethesda's arrears. I am talking every day of coming over: but how to do it in war time, or how to get the Chapel and Tabernacle supplied, I cannot, as yet, be clear in."*

* Letters 1219, and 1220.

Not being able, it seems, to get over these difficulties, he spent the winter of 1758, in London; and opened his spring campaign at Bristol. The month of June he spent preaching through Gloucestershire and Yorkshire; people of all ranks and distinctions every where flocked, as usual, twice a-day, to hear him:* and from thence re-visited Scotland.

CHAP. XVII.

From his arrival at Edinburgh, 1759, *to his opening the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel at Bath, in the year* 1765.

ABOUT the beginning of July 1759, he came to Edinburgh. Here, and also at Glasgow, the congregations were never more numerous or attentive. Yet, he complains in his letters, "that with respect to the power of religion, it was a dead time in Scotland, in comparison with London, and several other parts of England."† During his stay, the sum he collected for the benefit of the Orphan Hospital, amounted to two hundred and fifteen pounds. This year's visit to Scotland occasioned an occurrence which redounded much to his credit, and fully cleared him from the charges of mercenary and sordid motives, brought against him very unjustly by some of his adversaries.

* "I am growing fat; but, as I take it to be a disease, I hope I shall go home the sooner." Letter 1225.

† Letters 1226, and 1228.

A Miss Hunter, a young lady of considerable fortune, made him an offer of her whole estate, both money and lands, amounting to above SEVEN THOUSAND POUNDS, which he generously refused: and upon his declining to accept it for himself, she again offered it for the benefit of the institution in Georgia, which he also absolutely refused. These are facts too well known to be denied.

This winter he continued in London; during which, he wrote a preface to Dr. Samuel Clarke's bible, and considerably enlarged his chapel, which was far too small to contain the congregation.

On the 14th of March 1760, he collected at Tottenham-Court Chapel and Tabernacle, upwards of four hundred pounds, for the relief of the distressed Prussians, who suffered so much from the savage cruelty of the Russians, at Newmark, Custrin, &c. For this disinterested act of benevolence, he received the thanks of his Prussian majesty.

In the summer of 1760, he travelled through Gloucestershire and Wales, and afterwards to Bristol. When he preached at the Tabernacle, many more attended than the place would hold: and in the fields there were supposed to be TEN THOUSAND.*

About this time, he underwent a new sort of persecution, which, however, men of the greatest eminence have sometimes experienced, being burlesqued and ridiculed in a manner the most ludicrous and profane, on the stage of the theatre royal, Drury-lane. Many acts of violence had been offered to his person, but his enemies being now convinced that the law would not permit them longer to proceed that way with impunity, they therefore determined to try the effect of mockery. For this purpose, they got for their

* Letter 1237.

tool, Mr. Samuel Foote, a man well qualified to act the mimic; who having imitated Mr. Whitefield's person and action with success, and spoke some ludicrous sentences in his manner, was thereby encouraged to write a farce, called the MINOR, to be performed at Drury-lane. Mr. Whitefield takes notice of this in a letter, dated August 16, 1760. It seems to have taken its rise from the malice of the play-house people, after they had failed in their attempt to deter him from preaching at Long Acre Chapel; and even still more exasperated by his building a chapel of his own in Tottenham-Court Road.—See a Letter to David Garrick, Esq. occasioned by the intended Representation of the MINOR. This Letter was supposed to have been written by the Rev Martin Madan.

This theatrical piece, by its horrid blasphemy and impiety, excited the just indignation of every serious person. The impious author, intending to expose Mr. Whitefield to public contempt, makes no scruple to treat the very expressions, and sacred doctrines of the bible, with that profane ridicule, which a sober-minded Mahomedan would blush at! Or, to put the most favourable construction upon the matter, he, and the agents employed at the Tabernacle and Chapel to procure materials, were so shamefully ignorant of the inspired writings, as not to know, that what they took for Mr. Whitefield's peculiar language, was that of the word of God! However, they lost their labour; for by their endeavours to lessen the number of his followers, they increased them, and brought thousands more to hear the gospel: and thus Providence gave him the victory over them, baffling all the schemes of the prince of darkness!

Here it will not be amiss to insert the following account from Edinburgh:—"Mr. Foote being manager of the Edinburgh Theatre, in the winter of 1770, the MINOR

was acted there. The first night it was pretty full, as people fond of any novelty, were led to it without knowing any thing of the nature of the performance. But such was the public sense of the impurity and indecency of it, when known, that on the second night, only ten women appeared. When it was acted on Saturday, November 24, a dispute arose among the spectators, whether it was proper to bring Mr. Whitefield upon the stage, as he was now dead? This, however, was done, and raised a general indignation in the inhabitants of that city. Next day several ministers, the Rev. Dr. Erskine, Dr. Walker, &c. took notice of it in their discourses from the pulpit. Dr. Walker, whose church was frequented by people of the higher rank, observed in his lecture upon 2 Cor. v. 14—21, that he could not read the 17th verse, *if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature*, without expressing the just indignation he felt, upon hearing, that last night a profane piece of buffoonery was publicly acted, in which this sacred doctrine is ridiculed. The Rev. Mr. Baine, of the kirk of Relief, preached a sermon on the occasion, December 2, from Psalm xciv. 16. Towards the conclusion he says, "how base and ungrateful is such treatment of the dead! and that too so very nigh to a family of orphans, the records of whose Hospital will transmit Mr. Whitefield's name to posterity with honour, when the memory of others will rot! How illiberal such usage of one, whose seasonable good services for his king and country, are well known; and whose indefatigable labours for his beloved Master, were countenanced by heaven!"

May 14, 1760, he preached at Tottenham-Court Chapel, from Hosea xi. 8, 9. and at the Tabernacle in the evening, when his text was the last verse of the 80th Psalm. At the former place, he collected two hundred and twenty-two pounds, eight shillings, and nine pence;

and at the latter, one hundred and eighty-two pounds, fifteen shillings, and nine pence, for the distressed Protestants in Prussia. Thus it appears that his benevolent disposition led him strictly to observe public occurrences: and surely no man more carefully endeavoured to improve them.

The months of September and October, 1760, he spent in travelling and preaching through Yorkshire; and past the winter in London, in his usual manner.

February 13, 1761, being a day appointed for a general fast, he preached early in the morning at the Tabernacle, from Exodus xxxiv. 3, &c. and collected one hundred and twelve pounds. In the forenoon again, at the Chapel, from Joel ii. 15. After sermon, the collection amounted to two hundred and forty-two pounds; and in the evening he preached at the Tabernacle, from Gen. vii. 1. and collected two hundred and ten pounds. These sums, amounting to five hundred and sixty-four pounds, were immediately applied to the noble purposes for which they were collected, the relief of the poor afflicted German Protestants, and the unhappy sufferers by fire at Boston.* Four hundred pounds was conveyed to the Germans, through the hands of the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen.†

"Boston, February 27, 1764. At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, on Friday last, it was VOTED UNANIMOUSLY, that the thanks of the town be given to the Rev. George Whitefield, for his charitable care and pains in collecting a considerable sum of money in Great Britain, for the distressed sufferers by the great fire in Boston in 1760; and a respectable committee was appointed to wait on Mr. Whitefield, to inform him of the vote, and present him with a copy thereof."—*Boston Gazette.*

* Letter 1241.
† Letters 1242, and 1246.

But his bodily health, which had often been very bad, now grew worse and worse; so that, in August, 1761, he was brought to the very gates; yet, the Lord was pleased to raise him again. It was happy for him, that he frequently got the assistance of clergymen from the country; at this time particularly of the Rev. John Berridge,* vicar of Everton, Bedfordshire; Fellow of

* This eminently humble, laborious, and highly-honoured ambassador of the Lord Jesus, was born in 1716, at Kingston, in Nottinghamshire. In the fifteenth year of his age he was convinced of the sinfulness of sin, and the necessity of being born again, not of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God.

He was sent to the University of Cambridge in the nineteenth year of his age, and in 1749, began his ministry, at Stapleford, near Cambridge; where he preached regularly six years with zeal and faithfulness, but with little success. In 1755 he was admitted to the vicarage of Everton, in Bedfordshire; where he continued till his death.

From his own memorandums, found among his papers since his decease, it appears he was a stranger to that faith which purifies, works by love, and makes Christ all in all to the believing soul, till the year 1757; and therefore went about preaching up the righteousness of the creature, instead of the merits and righteousness of Jesus Christ alone, for acceptance with God. This made it no wonder that his ministrations were no more blessed to the souls of others than to his own. In the following year it pleased the Lord of his infinite mercy to open the eyes of his mind, to see his error, and make him cry out, "Lord, if I am right keep me so; but if I am not, make me so; and lead me to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus."

A few days after this, his earnest and constant prayer was granted; he was led by the blessed Spirit to acknowledge the insufficiency of good works to merit the divine favour, and accordingly renounced them, in point of dependance, as any wise meritorious in the sight of God. He was taught the necessity of believing in the Redeemer alone for life and salvation, and joyfully received and depended on him, as the only Saviour from the wrath to come; agreeable to the declaration of an inspired apostle, Acts iv. 12. "Neither is salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved."

From this time he truly found his preaching *was not in vain in the Lord;* for he had many bright and eminent seals, added to his ministry, which were his joy in life, and shall doubtless

Clare-hall, Cambridge; and chaplain to the right hon. the earl of Buchan; of whom he writes, " A new instru-

be his crown of rejoicing when time shall be no more. Among these was the Rev. Mr. Hicks, a clergyman of Wrestlingworth, about four miles from Everton, who became a very useful man, and often accompanied him in his itinerant labours from place to place.

Having so good a Master, he entered upon his work with chearful steps, and pursued it with the greatest industry. Emboldened by the success of Mr. Whitefield, he saw it his duty to itinerate, or to extend the sphere of his usefulness by becoming a travelling preacher: he did not confine his labours to the narrow limits of Everton, but, like the majestic sun, illuminated an extensive tract of country. His love to mankind was ardent: he knew the worth of an immortal soul; he knew the awful terrors of the Lord; he knew the emptiness of the present world; he knew the sandy foundation upon which thousands build; he knew the dangerous devices of satan; he knew the awful precipice upon which the ungodly stand. His bowels melted with pity, his heart yearned to assist them. He therefore left no means unattempted to awaken their concern, and allure them to the Son of God. In his itineracy he would take the counties of Bedford, Cambridge, Essex, Hertford, and Huntingdon, making the episcopal mandate the invariable rule of his operation, " Go and seek Christ's sheep wherever thou canst find them." In this circuit he preached upon an average from *ten to twelve sermons a week*, and frequently rode an hundred miles. Nor were these extraordinary exertions the hasty fruit of intermitting zeal, but were regularly continued during the long succession of more than *twenty years*, exemplifying through the whole of his ministerial career, the motto of the late celebrated Dr. Doddridge, *Dum vivimus vivamus*.

The first year that he began to preach the gospel, he was visited by upwards of *a thousand* different persons under serious impressions; and it has been computed, that under his own, and the joint ministry of Mr. Hicks, about *four thousand* were awakened to a concern about their souls, in the space of twelve months.

For several years before Mr. Whitefield died, Mr. Berridge preached at the Tabernacle and Tottenham-Court chapel, and continued to do so annually till 1793; he intended to have come that year, and was expected by his numerous friends in London, but instead of his presence they received the melancholy tidings of his death. For some days previous to his decease his strength and health had visibly decreased, and on Sunday, 20th January, he came down into his parlour as usual, but with great difficulty reached his chamber in the evening. A few hours after he was

ment is raised up out of Cambridge university: he has been preaching with great flame, and like an angel of the

in bed, he appeared to be seized with the symptoms of immediate dissolution. His face was contracted and his speech faultered; and in this situation he continued till about three o'clock on Tuesday afternoon, January 22, when breathing less and less, this champion of his Redeemer calmly entered into the joy of his Lord, in the 76th year of his age. On the ensuing Sabbath, his remains were interred in his own parish church-yard. The Rev. Charles Simeon, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, preached his funeral sermon from 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8. Six neighbouring clergymen attended to bear his pall. The almost immense concourse of people, who assembled from all parts of the country to be present at this solemnity, the undissembled grief which was depicted upon every countenance, the tears which trickled down every cheek, were a melancholy, but expressive eulogium on his character, and should be considered as a just panegyric on his worth.

Never man entered upon the work of his Master with more disinterested views. His purse was as open as his heart, though not so large. His ear was ever attentive to the tale of woe, his eye was keen to observe the miseries of the poor, the law of kindness was written upon his heart, and his hand was always ready to administer relief. The gains of his vicarage, of his fellowship, and of his patrimonial income (for his father died very rich,) were appropriated to support his liberality. Houses were rented, lay-preachers maintained, and his own travelling expences disbursed by himself. Cottagers were always gainers by his company. He invariably left an half-crown for the homely provision of the day, and during his itineracy it actually cost him *five hundred pounds* in this single article of expenditure.

His mental powers were far from contemptible: he possessed a strength of understanding—a quickness of perception—a depth of penetration—a brilliancy of fancy—and a fund of prompt wit, beyond most men. A vein of innocent humour ran through all his public and private discourses. This softened, what some might call the austerity of religion, and rendered his company pleasant to people of less serious habit; but what is very singular, it never overcame his gravity.

In learning he was inferior to very few of the most celebrated sons of science and literature at the university. His masculine ability, his uniform sobriety, and long residence at college, were favourable to improvement; and so insatiable was his thirst for knowledge, that from his entrance at Clare-Hall, to his acceptance of the vicarage of Everton, he regularly studied fifteen hours a day. He was as familiar with the learned languages as with his mother tongue.

church indeed." After his recovery, which was very gradual, he was so extremely weak as to be unable to labour as formerly; and therefore left London, and visited Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth. He now found himself much better, though not able to bear the fatigue of long journies and frequent preaching, as he used to do. Of this he complains in October, 1761: "I have not preached a single sermon for some weeks. Last Sunday I spoke a little; but I feel its effects ever since. A sea voyage seems more necessary to me now than ever. I now know what nervous disorders are. Blessed be God, that they were contracted in his service! I do not repent, though I am frequently tempted to wish the report of my death had been true, since my disorder keeps me from my old delightful work of preaching."*

In a journey this month to Leeds and Newcastle, although he was enabled to bear riding in post chaise, he could preach but seldom; and his friends prudently refrained from pressing him. "I hope, however," says he, "I am travelling in order to preach."† Accordingly he journeyed slowly to Edinburgh and Glasgow; and was in London till the month of December; when he was much recovered, which he attributed instrumentally to his following the advice and prescriptions of several eminent physician in Edinburgh; being convinced, as he said, "that their directions had been more blessed, than all the medicines and advice he had elsewhere."†

His health being in a great measure restored, he could not refrain from his beloved work. And writes from

None who intimately knew him will consider this as an exaggerated history, but will rather join the honest man, who told the minister at the close of his funeral sermon in London, "Sir, I have known good Mr. Berridge above forty years; and after all your commendation, I must say, as the queen of Sheba did on another occasion, *the half has not been told.*

* Letters 1252, 1253, and 1254.

† Letter 1255.

‡ Letter 1259.

Bristol, April 1762:—"Bristol air agrees with me. I have been enabled to preach five times this last week, without being hurt. Who knows but I may yet be restored so far as to sound the gospel trumpet for my God! The quietness I enjoy here, with daily riding out, seems to be one very proper mean."*

Notwithstanding his weakness, and shortness of breath, he still continued preaching four or five times a week, till the middle of May; and now and then was able to "take the field," as he called it; in which exercise he much delighted. "Mounts," says he, "are the best pulpits; and the heavens the best sounding boards. O for power equal to my will! I would fly from pole to pole, publishing the everlasting gospel of the Son of God!"†

After his return to town, his zealous exertions, increasing cares and labours, affected his spirits; and brought him low again. He therefore resolved on a voyage to Holland;‡ and accordingly set out in the month of July. The sea air agreed so well with him, that finding himself much better, he writes from Norwich, July 31:—"The expedition to Holland, was, I trust, profitable to myself and others; and, if ever my usefulness is to be continued at London, I must be prepared for it by a longer itineration both by land and water. At present, blessed be God I can preach once a-day; and it would do your heart good to see what an influence attends the word. All my old times are revived again."‖

August 18, he arrived at Edinburgh: from thence went to Glasgow; preached at each place alternately every day, and at Cambuslang twice, till September 13, when he returned to England; and rejoiced at the news

* Letters 1260 and 1261.
† Letter 1265.
‡ He preached at Rotterdam four times.
‖ Letter 1267.

of an expected peace, hoping soon to embark for America.

During his stay in England, he was not able to preach more than once a-day, through extreme weakness and bodily pain. At Leeds, Bristol, and Plymouth, he laboured with greater ease and pleasure; but of London, he says, "as affairs are circumstanced, every thing there tends to weigh me down."* Having therefore engaged some of his dearest and most intimate friends, to take upon them the whole care and management of the affairs of his Chapel and Tabernacle, with all his other concerns in England, he set sail in the month of March, 1763, for Greenock, in Scotland. In this tour, he preached at Everton, Leeds, Aberford, Kippax, and Newcastle: and also was employed in writing his observations, &c. in answer to bishop Warburton.†

For some weeks after his arrival in Scotland, he regularly preached once a-day; but was obliged, by the return of his former complaint, when at Edinburgh, to refrain, for the most part, for almost six weeks.

At length he embarked the sixth time for America, the beginning of June, in the ship Fanny, captain Archibald Galbraith, bound from Greenock to Virginia; and arrived there the latter end of August, after a voyage of twelve weeks. "Thanks to a never-failing Redeemer," says he, "I have not been laid by an hour through sickness, since I came on board. A kind captain, and a most orderly and quiet ship's company, who gladly attended when I had breath to preach. Scarce an oath have I heard upon deck, and such a stillness through the whole ship, both on week days, and the Lord's-day, as hath from time to time surprized me."‡ He dated his

* Letter 1274.
† Letters 1278 and 1279.—See also his Works, Vol. IV.
‡ Letter 1290.

letters in September, October, and November, from Philadelphia. Though still reduced by weakness, yet he continued to preach twice a-week. "Here," says he, "are some young bright witnesses rising up in the church. Perhaps I have already conversed with forty new-creature ministers, of various denominations. Sixteen popular students, I am credibly informed, were converted in New Jersey College last year. What an open door if I had strength! Last Tuesday we had a remarkable season among the Lutherans; children and grown people were much impressed."*

It was his earnest wish to go immediately to Georgia, but was absolutely dissuaded by his physicians, till he recovered his strength. In the latter end of November, he left Philadelphia, and went to New York, preaching several times by the way; at the college, New Jersey, and also at Edinburgh town, with much approbation and success. His spirits now revived, so that he was enabled to preach three times a week.† During his stay at New York, in the winter, he writes, "prejudices in this place have most strongly subsided. The better sort flock, as eagerly as the common people, and are fond of coming for private gospel conversation. Congregations continue very large, and I trust, saving impressions are made upon many."‡ This appears by the following account taken from the Boston Gazette.

"New York, January 23, 1754. The Rev. George Whitefield, has spent seven weeks with us, preaching twice a week with more general approbation than ever; and has been treated with great respect, by many of the gentlemen and merchants of this place. During his stay, he preached two charity-sermons, the one on the occa-

* Letter 1294.
† Letter 1298.
‡ Letters 1302 and 1303.

sion of the annual collection for the poor, in which double the sum was collected that ever was upon the like occasion; the other was for the benefit of Mr. Wheelock's Indian school at Lebanon, in New England, for which he collected, notwithstanding the present prejudices of many people against the Indians, the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds. In his last sermon, he took a very affectionate leave of the people of this city, who expressed great concern at his departure. May God restore this great and good man, in whom the gentleman, the christian, and accomplished orator, shine forth with such peculiar lustre, to a perfect state of health, and continue him long a blessing to the world, and the church of Christ!"

Having left New York, he preached at East Hampton-bridge, Hampton, and South Hold, in Long Island; at Shelter Island, and at New London, Norwich, and Providence, on the main land, in his way to Boston, where he arrived in the latter end of February, 1764, and was welcomed by many, with great affection.* But, as the small-pox was spreading through the town, he preached for some time in the parts adjacent. At Newbury, in particular, a divine power attended the word preached. From Concord, he writes, to his friend Mr. S———, "How would you have been delighted to have seen Mr. Wheelock's Indians! Such a promising nursery of future missionaries, I believe, was never seen in New England before. Pray encourage it with all your might. I also wish you would give some useful puritanical books to Haward College Library, lately burnt down."† The estimation in which he was held by the gentlemen of Haward College, will be best seen by the following:—

"At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Haward College, August 22, 1768, the Rev. G. White-

* Letter 1304. † Letter 1305.

field, having in addition to his former kindness to Haward College, lately presented to the library, a new edition of his Journals, and having procured large benefactions from several benevolent and respectable gentlemen, VOTED, that the thanks of the corporation be given to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, for these instances of candour and generosity."

PRESENT,

THE PRESIDENT, DR. ELLIOT,
MR. APPLETON, DR. COOPER,
MR. PROFESSOR WINTHORP, TREASURER HUBBARD,
(A true Copy,) Per E. HOLYOKE, *President.*

In the month of April his disorder returned; but not so violent as to prevent him long from preaching, and the Bostonians flocked with great eagerness to hear him. He left Boston, in order to proceed immediately to the southward, but messengers were sent after to persuade him to return.

June 1, 1764, he writes, "Friends have even constrained me to stay here, for fear of running into the summer's heat. Hitherto I find the benefit of it. Whatever it is owing to, through mercy, I am much better in health than I was this time twelve months, and can preach thrice a week to very large auditories, without hurt; and every day I hear of some brought under concern. This is all of grace!"*

He again left Boston, to the great grief of his friends, after a sorrowful parting, and came back to New York: and from thence his letters are dated from June till the end of August. "At present," says he, "my health is better than usual, and as yet I have felt no inconvenience from the summer's heat. I have preached twice lately in the fields, and we sat under the blessed Re-

* Letter 1311.

deemer's *shadow with great delight.* My late excursions upon Long Island, I trust, have been blessed. It would surprise you to see above one hundred carriages at every sermon, in the new world!"*

He spent the month of September and October at Philadelphia; where the provost of the college read prayers for him. Both the present, and late governor, with the principal gentlemen of the city, attended. He received the thanks of the trustees, for speaking for the charity children, and recommending the institution.†

Leaving Philadelphia, he continued his journey southward through Virginia; and November 22, from New Brunswick, in Carolina, he writes thus:—"At Newburn, last Sunday, good impressions were made. From that place to this, I have met with what they call New Lights.‡ Almost every stage I have the name of six or eight of their preachers. This, with every other place, being open, and exceedingly desirous to hear the gospel, makes me almost determined to come back early in the spring." Having preached at Charlestown, he once more arrived at Savannah, and had the happiness to find the state of the colony as prosperous as he could wish. "The colony," says he, "is rising fast; nothing but plenty at Bethesda; and all arrears, I trust, will be paid off before I leave it: so that in a short time, I hope to be freed from these outward incumbrances."‖ And he was not disappointed in his expectations. He writes, "Bethesda, January 14, 1765, God hath given me great favour in the sight of the governor, council, and assembly. A memorial was presented for an additional grant of land, consisting of two thousand acres. It

* Letters 1312, 1313 and 1315.
† Letter 1318.
‡ A name given to Methodists.
‖ Letter 1321.

was immediately complied with. Both houses addressed the governor in behalf of the intended College. As warm an answer was given. Every heart seems to leap for joy, at the prospect of its future utility."*—Again, "Bethesda, February 13. Yesterday morning, the governor, and lord I. A G———n, with several other gentlemen, favoured me with their company to breakfast. But how was my lord surprized and delighted! After expressing himself in the strongest terms, he took me aside, and informed me, that the governor had shewed him the accounts, by which he found, what a great benefactor I had been; that the intended College would be of the utmost utility to Georgia, and the neighbouring provinces: that the plan was beautiful, rational, and practicable; and that he was persuaded his majesty would highly approve of, and also favour it with some peculiar marks of his royal bounty." He adds in the same letter, "Now farewell, my beloved Bethesda; surely the most delightful place in all the southern parts of America. What a blessed winter have I had! Peace, and love, and harmony, and plenty, reign here! Mr. Wright, hath done much in a little time, all are surprized at it; but he hath worked night and day, and not stirred a mile for many weeks. Thanks be to God, all outward things are settled on this side the water. The auditing the accounts, and laying the foundation for a College, hath silenced enemies, and comforted friends. The finishing this affair confirms my call to England, at this time."†

Having left Bethesda in such comfortable circumstances, he determined on the 18th February, to delay his intended journey to the northward, judging it best to sail immediately for England, to settle the College affairs. However,

* Letter 1322.
† Letters 1324 and 1329.

he spent part of the month of March at Charlestown, and then taking an affectionate farewell, proceeded towards Philadelphia, preaching at many places by the way, especially at Newcastle. He says, "all along from Charlestown to this place, the cry is, for Christ's sake stay and preach to us! O for a thousand lives to spend for Jesus!"*

There being no vessel at Philadelphia, bound for England, he sailed for New York, in the Earl of Halifax packet, and once more landed in England, July 5, 1765. He writes, "We have had but a twenty-eight days passage. The transition hath been so sudden, that I can scarce believe I am in England. I hope, ere long, to have a more sudden transition into a better country."† When he arrived, he was very ill of a nervous fever; which left him extremely weak in body, and prevented him from exerting himself, as he had been used to do. Yet, far from being discouraged, he continued to do all the good he could, being in expectation of soon entering into his eternal rest. "O, to end life well!" says he, "methinks I have now but one river to pass over. And we know of One that can carry us over, without being ankle deep."‡

On the 6th of October, he was called to open the countess of Huntingdon's Chapel at Bath. His text was 2 Cor. vi. 16. He says, "the chapel is extremely plain, and yet equally grand—a beautiful original—all was conducted with great solemnity. Though a very wet day, the place was very full. I preached in the morning—the Rev. Mr. Townsend, of Pewsy, in the evening."‖

* Letter 1329.
† Letter 1331.
‡ Letter 1333.
‖ Letter 1337.

CHAP. XVIII.

From his opening Lady Huntingdon's Chapel at Bath, to his embarking for America, in the year 1769.

MR. Whitefield made but a short stay at Bath, and returned to London. January 18, 1766, he writes to a friend at Sheerness:—"I am sorry to acquaint you, that it is not in my power to comply with your request, for want of more assistance. I am confined in town with the care of two important posts, when I am only fit to be put into some garrison among invalids." Early in the spring he was awhile relieved; for he was, in the month of March at Bath and Bristol.

He writes March 17, "the uncertainty of my motions has made me slow in writing; and a desire to be awhile free from London cares, hath made me indifferent about frequent hearing from thence. Last Friday evening, and twice yesterday, I preached at Bath, to very thronged and brilliant auditories."—A cause of much joy to him about this time, was the repeal of the Stamp Act; for he had the colonial interest always at heart, and he ardently wished for the restoration of peace and tranquillity to his beloved country. We find in his letter-book, the following memorandum: "March 16, 1766, Stamp Act repealed!—*gloria Deo.*"

The celebrated Indian ministers, Mr. Occum* and Mr. Whitaker, now arrived from America, in order to

* Mr. Occum was one of the Mohegan tribe of Indians, in Connecticut, North America. He was admitted into the Rev. Mr. Wheelock's school, at Lebanon, when a youth, where he learned Latin and Greek, with a view to the exercise of his mi-

raise subscriptions for Mr. Wheelock's Indian school. That pious institution Mr. Whitefield much approved; and concerning which, in a letter, dated London, April 25, he writes,* "the prospect of a large and effectual door opened among the heathen, blessed be God, is very promising. Mr. Occum is a settled, humble christian: the good and great, with a multitude of lower degree, heard him preach last week at Tottenham-Court Chapel, and felt much of the power and presence of the Lord. Mr. Romaine hath preached, and collected £100. and I believe seven or eight hundred more are subscribed. The truly noble Lord Dartmouth espouses the cause most heartily, and his majesty is become a contributor. The King of kings, and Lord of lords, will bless them for it." Mr. Occum and Mr. Whitaker came afterwards to Scotland, and procured very large contributions in the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow; but especially from the family of Mr. Sprewll, of Glasgow, and from the Rev. Mr. M'Culloch, at Cambuslang.†

June 19, we find him at Collam, near Bristol, from whence he writes:‡—"As my feverish heat continues, and the weather is too wet to travel, I have complied with the advice of friends, and have commenced a hot-well water drinker twice a day. However twice this week, at six in the morning, I have been enabled to call thirsty souls to come and *drink of the water of life freely*. To-morrow evening, God willing, the call is to be repeated, and again on Sunday."

nistry among the Indians. He married an Indian woman, by whom he had seven or eight children; and kept a school on Long Island, where his wife and family tilled the ground.

He was ordained a preacher by the Suffolk Presbytery; and was sent on a mission to the Oneida Indians, one of the six nations, and afterwards to several other tribes.

* Letter 1341.

† It appears from accounts, afterwards published, that they collected the great sum of £9494 7*s*. 7*hd*.

‡ Letter 1345.

From Collam he returned to London,* from which place he writes, September 25: "Many in this metropolis seem

* About this time Mr. Whitefield became acquainted with that faithful servant of Jesus, the Rev. Torial Joss. Mr. Joss was a native of Scotland. He was born September 29, 1731, at a small village on the sea-coast, about twenty miles north of Aberdeen. Mr. Joss was of a very mild disposition, and rather inclined to serious subjects; but these being discouraged at home, he hid his bible out of the house, and embraced every opportunity of consulting it, as the guide of his youth. As soon as his age would admit, he was placed out to a maritime employment. This was a habit of life, not very favourable to religious improvement; but that God who *sitteth upon the floods*, "Can," as Mr. Whitefield said of him and the celebrated captain Scott, afterwards the Rev. Jonathan Scott, "bring a shark from the ocean, and a lion from the forest, and *form them for himself to shew forth his praise.*"

The vessel he was in being taken by the enemy, he was carried to a foreign prison, where he suffered extremely. On his return, in the year 1746, a date rendered memorable in the British annals by the total suppression of the Scotch rebellion, he was led by curiosity to view the royal and rebel armies. Here he was impressed, and sent on board a king's ship stationed on that coast, to co-operate with the land forces.

After some time he made his escape, and travelling to Sunderland, bound himself in articles of apprenticeship to a captain of a coasting vessel, belonging to Robin Hood's Bay, near Whitby, in Yorkshire. It does not appear that his morals were injured by the vicissitudes he had already witnessed; nor was it till after this period, that he gave evident signs of conversion to God. He was, however, eager to obtain useful learning; and during the winter months, when the vessels were laid by, regularly attended at school, to acquire a scientific knowledge of his profession.

By a series of the most singular providences, the gospel was brought to Robin Hood's Bay. Many people heard it with attention; and some believed to the saving of their souls. Mr. Wesley, on hearing this circumstance, went, and soon established a society in the town. Mr. Joss had previous to this, begun to pray and exhort; and was greatly encouraged by Mr. Wesley, to proceed. He now joined this newly-formed society, and though not an Arminian in sentiment, was ever after admitted to the pulpits belonging to that people.

He was now about eighteen years of age, and became exceedingly zealous. He carried the savour of his Master's name on board; where some heard, and others mocked. Waxing strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus, he sought every

to be on the wing for God: the shout of a king is yet heard in the Methodist camp. Had I wings, I would

occasion to teach and preach in the several harbours where his vessel lay. His first public sermon was delivered at Boston, in Lincolnshire, where God was with him of a truth.

When Mr. Joss was appointed to the command of a ship, he immediately set up regular worship. As often as the weather would permit, he preached regularly to his crew; and before he left the sea, he had a number of the sailors who could publicly pray and exhort.

Having a flattering prospect of succeeding in life, he was married on Christmas-day, 1755, to Miss Moorsom, of Whitby, after a mutual and intimate attachment of ten years. By Mrs. Joss he had eleven children, only two of whom, together with his mournful widow, survive him.

Mr. Joss now looked forward to that period when he should realize a genteel fortune for his growing family. But fortunes dependent upon the caprice of wind or weather, and especially when they stand in the way of ministerial duty, are a precarious tenure. While he commanded the ships of other proprietors, he never experienced the least disaster; but when he became a joint owner, he witnessed nothing else. In his fourth voyage to London, the vessel was lost at the Nore, and he and his crew were with difficulty saved. He then went down to Berwick, to superintend the building of one considerably larger. During his residence at this port, he preached to crowds with great acceptance and success. When the ship was finished and laden, the poor people began to regret the prospect of his departure. The wind was fair, and the next tide he intended to sail; but the next morning it became foul, and detained him five weeks longer than he intended. After he had sailed, a gentleman of Berwick, unknown to Mr. Joss, wrote to an acquaintance of Mr. Whitefield in London, saying what a wonderful preacher they had been favoured with for nine months. He mentioned when he supposed the vessel would be in the Thames. Her name was the Hartley Trader, but the other coasting crews, called her the *Pulpit*. Mr. Whitefield, who had seen the above letter, and had heard that the ship had come to her moorings, published, without the knowledge of Mr. Joss, that a captain would preach on Saturday evening. Being found on board he was apprized of the circumstance, and refused to comply; but the messenger resolved not to go on shore till he consented. The services of this and the ensuing evening, were so gratifying to Mr. Whitefield, that he immediately requested him to leave the sea, and labour in the Tabernacle connection. To these solicitations he turned a deaf ear; and nothing short of a speaking Providence would ever have prevailed.

gladly fly from pole to pole; but they are clipped by thirty years feeble labours. Twice or thrice a week I am

This was his first voyage, and in it he lost his main anchor. On his next return to London, he preached frequently at the Tabernacle, and was greatly attended. Mr. Whitefield renewed his application—he declined. In this voyage he lost one of his crew, a promising youth, who was drowned. On his third voyage to London, his congregations were prodigiously crowded; and Mr. Whitefield pressed on him the duty of leaving a maritime employment, and being devoted wholly to the ministry. Mr. Joss had on board a younger brother, a pious man, who was very dear to him on many accounts, and thought if ever he should change his views, it would be a good situation for him. He was so far prevailed on, as to send his brother, this trip, while he supplied the Tabernacle; but, lo! in going down the river, his brother fell over the side of the ship, and was drowned. Mr. Whitefield then addressed him in a very solemn manner, saying, "Sir, all these disasters are the fruit of your disobedience; and, let me tell you, if you refuse to hearken to the call of God, both you and your ship will soon go the bottom!" Overcome by the voice of Providence, he yielded; and, on his fourth voyage, quitted the compass, the chart, and the ocean, for the service of the sanctuary. This was late in the year 1766. Immediately he entered into close communion with Mr. Whitefield, who, to the day of his death, continued to him his affection, and intrusted him with his confidence.

In this change of situation, he could not have been actuated by motives of a pecuniary nature; for his prospects in trade were by far more flattering than in the ministry. His sermons, in the former years of his residence in town, were not only attended by large auditories, but with energy to the conversion of many souls; nor did God leave him without many witnesses to the close of his ministerial labours. He generally spent four or five months in the year out of London, for the purpose of itinerating. In this period, he regularly visited South Wales, Gloucestershire, Bristol Tabernacle, and occasionally other parts of the kingdom. In Pembrokeshire the Welsh followed him in multitudes; and, on the Lord's-day, would travel from one to twenty miles round Haverford West to hear him. To not a few of these he became a spiritual father; and, indeed, wherever he exercised his talents, though but a few weeks, he left some seals of his apostleship behind.

Mr. Joss died of a fever, after a few days illness, on the 17th of April, 1797, in the 66th year of his age. During his illness, he enjoyed a solid peace; and the Lord Jesus indulged him with a peculiar manifestation of his gracious presence. Some of his last words were, "Into thy hands I commit my soul! O

permitted to ascend my gospel throne. The love of Christ, I am persuaded, will constrain you to pray that the last glimmering of an expiring taper may be blessed to the guiding of many wandering souls to the Lamb of God."*

In the month of November, this year he visited Bath and Bristol. At the latter city, he had very numerous and respectable auditories, (notwithstanding the weather was extremely bad,) and administered the sacrament; and at Bath, he never remembered so large an assembly of nobility and persons of distinction, attending his preaching before.

About the latter end of November, he again returned to London; and in a letter dated December 15, says, "I have been itinerating at Bristol, Bath, Gloucestershire, and at Oxford, and humbly hope my feeble labours were not altogether in vain in the Lord."†

In January, 1767, he wrote a recommendatory preface to a new edition of the works of *bishop Bunyan*, as he used to call him; which is published with his tracts in

the preciousness of faith! I have finished my course! My pilgrimage is at an end! O, thou Friend of sinners, take thy poor old friend home!" The last word he was heard to speak was, "Archangels!" In a few minutes after, he lifted up both his hands, and smiled, and died. Mr. Joss was between thirty and forty years a faithful preacher of the everlasting gospel.

Thus liv'd, and died, this servant of the Lord,
A painful, faithful, preacher of his word;
Ripen'd in age, and stedfast in the faith,
Joyful he sunk into the arms of death:
His soul upmounted to the realms of day:
Let the dark tomb awhile retain his clay,
Which with immortal blooming joys shall rise,
When the last trumpet, shakes the vaulted skies.

See Memoirs of the late Rev. Torial Joss, in the Evangelical Magazine, for October, 1797.

* Whitefield's Letter to J. S.—*Gospel Magazine*, 1773.

† Whitefield's Letter to Gustavus Gidley, Esq.—*Methodist Magazine*, 1808.

Vol. IV. and March 20, he was called to open lady Huntingdon's new Chapel at Brighthelmstone in Sussex, when he preached on 2 Peter iii. 18.

After an excursion to Norwich, in April 1767, he writes thus:—"I fear my spring and summer fever is returning. If so, my intended plan of operations will be much contracted. But future things belong to Him who orders all things well."* Yet (to our astonishment) the very next month, we find he preached at Rodborough, Gloucester, Haverfordwest, in Wales; from which place he writes, May 31:—"Thousands and thousands attend by eight in the morning. Life and light seem to fly all around. On Tuesday, God willing, I am to preach at Woodstock; on Friday, at Pembroke; here again next Sunday, by eight; and then for England."† And after his return to Gloucester, June 10, "blessed be God," says he, "I am got on this side the Welch mountains. Blessed be God, I have been on the other side. What a scene last Sunday! What a cry for more of the bread of life! but I was quite worn down."‡

September 11, he arrived at Leeds, after preaching at Northampton and Sheffield on his way. And September 20, he writes from Newcastle, in high spirits,‖—"I have now a blessed Methodist field-street-preaching-plan before me. This afternoon in the Castle Garth; to-morrow for Sunderland; then to Yarmouth, &c. &c.—I have been enabled to preach in the street at several places, and hope to go to Gesborough, Whitby, Scarborough, New-Malton, York, Leeds, Liverpool, Chester, Manchester, &c."—Again, from Thirck, September 28:—"My body feels much fatigued in travelling—comforts in the soul overbalance." And Leeds, October 3:—"Field and street-

* Letter 1352.
† Letter 1357.
‡ Letter 1359.
‖ Letters 1364, 1365, 1366, and 1369.

preaching hath rather bettered, than hurt my bodily health."

The negociations about the intended college at Bethesda were, this winter, brought to an issue. A memorial, addressed to his majesty, was put into the hands of the clerk of the privy council, setting forth the great utility of a College in that place, to the inhabitants of the southern provinces; and praying that a charter might be granted upon the plan of the College at New Jersey. This memorial was transmitted by the clerk of the privy council to the lord president, and by his lordship referred to the archbishop of Canterbury, to whom also a draft of an intended charter was presented by the earl of Dartmouth. Upon which an epistolary correspondence ensued between the archbishop and Mr. Whitefield; the consequence of which was, that his grace gave the draft of the charter to the lord president, who promised he would consider of it: and gave it as his opinion, that "the head of the College ought to be a member of the church of England; that this was a qualification not to be dispensed with; and also, that the public prayers should not be extempore ones, but the liturgy of the church, or some other settled and established form." Mr. Whitefield replied, that these restrictions could by no means agree to, because the greatest part of the collections and contributions for the Orphan-house, came from protestant dissenters; and because he had constantly declared, that the intended college should be founded upon a broad bottom, and no other. "This," says he, "I judged I was sufficiently warranted to do, from the known, long established, mild, and uncoercive genius of the British government; also from your grace's moderation toward protestant dissenters; from the unconquerable attachment of the Americans to toleration principles, as well as from the avowed, habitual feelings of my own heart.

"This being the case, and as your grace, by your

silence, seems to be like minded with the lord president; and as your grace's and his lordship's influence will undoubtedly extend itself to others, I would beg leave, after returning all due acknowledgements, to inform your grace, that I intend troubling your grace and his lordship no more about this so long depending concern. As it hath pleased the great Head of the church in some degree, to renew my bodily strength, I purpose now to renew my feeble efforts, and turn the charity into a more generous, and consequently into a more useful channel. I have no ambition to be looked upon as the founder of a college; but I would fain act the part of an honest man, a disinterested minister of Jesus Christ; and a true catholic, moderate presbyter of the church of England."

He now determined, (upon mature deliberation) in the mean time, on the addition of a public academy to the Orphan-house, similar to what was done at Philadelphia, before its college-charter was granted; and to embrace the first favourable opportunity that might offer, of making another application for a charter on a broad bottom. The steps he took in this affair, are more fully narrated, than the limits of our present plan would admit, in a letter to governor Wright.* In a letter to his intimate friend Mr. Keen, he complains, "None but God knows what a concern is upon me now in respect of Bethesda. As another voyage, perhaps, may be the issue and result of all at last, I would beg you and my dear Mr. H——y to let me have all my papers and letters, that I may revise and dispose of them in a proper manner. This can do no hurt, come life or come death."†

October 28, he preached at the Tabernacle, to the Society for promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor; and collected, after sermon, upwards of one hundred pounds, above four times times as much as usual;

* See his Works, Vol. III. page 472--484.
† Letter 1378.

and besides, gained eighty new subscribers. His text was Luke xi. 2. *Thy kingdom come.* The place was so full, that many went away who could not get in. Several dissenting ministers of different denominations were present, perhaps more than ever before attended to hear a clergyman of the established church preach. He afterwards dined at Draper's-Hall, with the ministers and whole company, who treated him with great respect. The time was spent in the utmost harmony; which gave him much pleasure in reflexion.

Early in the year 1768, six pious students were expelled from St. Edmund Hall, in Oxford, for praying, reading, singing hymns, and exhorting each other in private and religious meetings!

The following is an Extract of a Letter from Oxford, inserted in the St. James's Chronicle for Thursday, March 17, 1768:—

"On Friday last, March 9, 1768, six students belonging to Edmund Hall, were expelled the University, after an hearing of several hours before Mr. Vice Chancellor and some of the Heads of Houses, for holding Methodistical tenets, and taking upon them to pray, read, and expound the scriptures, and sing hymns in a private house. The principal of the College, the Rev. Dr. Dixon, defended their doctrines from the thirty-nine articles of the established church, and spoke in the highest terms of the piety and exemplariness of their lives; but his motion was over-ruled, and sentence pronounced against them.* Dr Dixon observed, that as these six gentlemen were expelled for having too much religion, it would be very proper to inquire into the conduct of some who had too little; and Mr. Vice Chancellor was heard to tell their chief accuser, that the University was much obliged to him for his good work.

* What is one Methodist among a host of divines?

The following are the names of the young men, with the names of those who passed sentence on them. The sentence was pronounced in the chapel. James Matthews, Thomas Jones, Joseph Shipman, Benjamin Kay, Erasmus Middleton, and Thomas Grove. "For the crimes above mentioned, we, David Durell, D.D. Vice chancellor of the University, and visitor of the Hall; Thomas Randolph, D.D. President of C.C.C; Thomas Fothergill, D D. Provost of Queen's College; Thomas Nowell, D.D. Principal of St. Mary's Hall, and the Rev. Thomas Atterbury, A.M. of Christ Church, Senior Proctor, deem each of them worthy of being expelled the Hall; I therefore, by my visitorial power, do hereby pronounce them expelled."*

* This event occasioned a long and unpleasant controversy, in which Dr. Nowell and Sir Richard Hill, bart. were principal combatants. The apology offered by the friends of the expulsion was, that the young men had broken the statutes of the University, which would have been pleaded with a better grace, had the same zeal for discipline appeared in the expulsion of a few young men for swearing, gaming, and intoxication, which were certainly not less *irregularities* than extemporary praying, singing hymns, and expounding the scriptures. The issue exposed the University to a great deal of ridicule, particularly in the "Shaver, a Sermon," which was written by the late Rev. John Macgowan; and was not only very popular at the time, but has gone through twenty editions. Dr. Horne, bishop of Norwich, also wrote in defence of the students.

According to the Rev. Dr. Nowell's learned answer to Sir Richard Hill, it is evidently much more safe, and less impious, to ridicule the miracles of Moses and of Christ, than to pray in private houses without book. The eloquent orator of the University gives a full account of the case of Mr. W—ll—ng, a friend of his oratorship's, who was charged upon oath with the above said contempt of the scripture, and ridicule of the miracles of Moses and Christ. The proofs were so point blank against the said Rev. Mr. W—ll—ng, that his Reverence could not deny the charge. Well then, what was the issue? Was he expelled? No, he was not. Query, why was he not expelled? Answer, His Reverence pleaded his being *drunk* when he uttered those contemptful words against the miracles of Moses and Christ. i. e. *The* CANDIDATE *for holy orders* WAS DRUNK *when he ridiculed*

Upon this occasion Mr. Whitefield wrote his letter to Dr. Durell, Vice Chancellor of the University; in which he observes, that "however criminal the singing hymns in an *University* might be deemed, the same practice in a *Camp* was not thought reprehensible by a noble general. The late duke of Cumberland, who, when in Germany, happened one evening to hear the sound of voices from a cave, at a little distance, asked the sentinel what noise it was? He was answered, that it was some devout soldiers, who were singing hymns. Instead of citing them to appear before their officers, ordering them to the halberts to be whipped, or commanding them to be drummed out of the regiment, he pleasantly said, 'are they so? Let them go on then, and be as merry as they can.' In this he acted wisely; for he knew, and found by repeated experience, as did other commanding officers, that singing and praying, in these private societies, did not hinder, but rather fitted and animated these pious soldiers to fight their country's battles in the field; and it may be presumed, that if these students had not been expelled for singing hymns, &c. they certainly would not have been less, but, in all probability, much better prepared for handling the sword of the Spirit, the word of God, and fighting therewith, either from the press or the pulpit the battles of the Lord of Hosts."*

revealed religion; and yet he got into orders; and yet he continues a member of the University!

In the same affair, related by the Rev. Dr. Durell, it is plain that private religious assembles, alias conventicles, are in much less esteem at Oxford than tap-houses and taverns; for the six Methodists were expelled for praying in a conventicle, but the Rev. Mr. W—ll—ng *could get drunk in a tap-house,* and yet continues a member of the University. Nor can this be denied, unless the public orator should eat his words; otherwise shew from good and authentic records, that members of that learned body do occasionally get drunk within their own peculiar districts.—*See Magowan's Shaver, page* 19, 20.

* See his Works, Vol. IV. page 309.

In the summer, he went the last time to Edinburgh; and there the congregations were as large, attentive, and affectionate as ever.*

Soon after his return to London, Mrs. Whitefield fell ill of an inflammatory fever, and died on the 9th of August. On the 14th he preached her funeral sermon from Romans viii. 20, and September 12, he writes, "I have been in hopes of my own departure. Through hard riding, and frequent preaching, I have burst a vein. The flux is in a great measure stopped: but rest and quietness are strictly enjoined. We were favoured with glorious gospel gales this day fortnight, and several preceding days."

In his memorandum-book, he wrote as follows:—"August 24, 1768, opened good lady Huntingdon's Chapel and College, in the parish of Falgarth, Brecknockshire, South Wales†—preached from Exodus xx. 24. *In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.*

"August 25. Gave an exhortation to the students in the College Chapel, from Luke i. 15. *He shall be great in the sight of the Lord.*

"Sunday, August 28. Preached in the court before the College, the congregation consisting of some thousands, from 1 Cor. iii. 11. *Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.*

Thus we see him incessantly *doing the work of an evangelist.* Well would it be for the church of Christ,

* Letters 1387 and 1388.

† Here it may be proper to observe, that the college in Wales ceased at her ladyship's death, the lease being just expired, and no endowment left, her income dying with her: but a new college, on a plan more promising for literature, has been established at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, near London; and under the superintending care of trustees appointed for that purpose. A number of students have been already educated there, and many are gone forth, now preaching the gospel with much acceptance, from this seminary.

if there were more of his brethren inclined to follow his steps, even as he followed Christ!

Concerning his dear departed friend, and fellow-labourer, Mr. Middleton, he writes, September 26: "He is now made perfectly whole. He was carried from the Tabernacle last Wednesday evening, and a subscription opened for his four orphans. In the midst of his torturing pains, being asked by his daughter, how he was? answered, 'a heaven upon earth.' Soon afterwards he fell asleep in Jesus."*

The latter end of this year, we find his health very much decayed; yet, though in much weakness, he continued to preach as often as he was able.

Bristol, November 12. "Last night, I hope, the Redeemer manifested forth his glory. Friday evening, and the following Sunday, I shall preach at Bath. In three weeks I expect to reach London, except called before that period to reside at the New Jerusalem—the pleasing prospect lies day and night before me."†

Thus this good and great man, found increasing pleasure in labouring in his Master's vineyard, while pains and infirmities brought his body low, his soul exulting in the expectation of speedily entering into everlasting rest!

It pleased the Lord, in the ensuing spring, 1769, to restore him a little; so that he was enabled to preach oftener than he had done for some time past. His joy was now much increased, by the addition of some noble members, joined to lady Huntingdon's society. "Some more coronets, I hear, are likely to be laid at the Redeemeer's feet. They glitter gloriously when set in, and surrounded with a crown of thorns."‡

* Letter 1397.
† Letter 1398.
‡ Letter 1409.

About midsummer, he preached at Kingswood, Bristol, Bradford, Frome, Chippenham, Rodborough, Castlecomb, and Dursley. But, intending to open lady Huntingdon's Chapel at Tunbridge, he did not go his western circuit at this time.*

July 23, 1769, he opened lady Huntingdon's new Chapel at Tunbridge Wells, and preached from Genesis xxviii. 17. "*This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of Heaven.*" The congregation being too large to be accommodated in the chapel, he preached out of doors, from a mount in the court before the chapel; after which he gave a general exhortation; and next day administered the Lord's supper, and preached from 1 Thess. ii. 11, 12.

He now began seriously to prepare for another voyage across the Atlantic, to visit once more his beloved orphans and friends at Georgia. Accordingly, at the beginning of September, he embarked the seventh and last time, in the Friendship, captain Ball, for America. From on board he writes:—"I am comforted on every side—a civil captain and passengers; all willing to attend on divine worship, and to hear of religious things."†

* Letter 1413.
† Letter 1425.

CHAP. XIX.

From his last embarking for America, to his Death, September 30, 1770.

THE vessel was detained a month in the Downs, by contrary winds; one ship was lost, but the passengers escaped in the boat.* Mr. Whitefield, as usual, ever careful to redeem the time, employed himself in writing many excellent consolatory epistles to his numerous friends: he often preached on board, and sometimes also on shore, both at Deal and Ramsgate. During the violence of the storms, they sung the following hymns, written by the Rev. Charles Wesley.

HYMN I.

1 LORD of the wide extended main,
Whose pow'r the winds and waves controuls;
Whose hand doth earth and heav'n sustain,
Whose Spirit leads believing souls.

2 For thee we leave our native shore,
(We, whom thy love delights to keep,)
In other worlds, thy works explore,
And see thy wonders in the deep.

3 'Tis here thy unknown paths we trace,
Which dark to human eyes appear;
While through the mighty waves we pass,
Faith only sees that GOD is here!

* Letter 1430.

4 Throughout the deep thy footsteps shine,
We own thy way is in the sea:
O'er-aw'd by majesty divine,
And lost in thy immensity!

5 Thy wisdom here we learn t' adore,
Thy everlasting truth we prove;
Amazing heights of boundless power,
Unfathomable depths of love!

6 Infinite GOD! thy greatness span'd
These heav'ns, and meted out the skies;
Lo! in the hollow of thy hand,
The measur'd waters sink and rise!

7 Thee to perfection, who can tell?
Earth and her sons beneath thee lye,
Lighter than dust within thy scale,
—— less than nothing in thine eye.

8 Yet in thy Son divinely great,
We claim thy providential care;
Boldly we stand before thy seat,
Our advocate hath plac'd us there.

9 With Him we are gone up on high,
Since He is our's, and we are His;
With Him we reign above the sky,
Yet walk upon our subject seas.

10 We boast of our recover'd pow'rs,
Lords are we of the lands and floods;
And earth, and heav'n, and all is our's,
And we are Christ's, and Christ is GOD's.

HYMN II.

1 GLORY to Thee, whose pow'rful word,
Bids the tempestuous winds arise;
Glory to Thee, the Sov'reign Lord
Of air, and earth, and seas, and skies!

2 Let air, and earth, and skies obey,
And seas thy awful will perform:
From them we learn to own thy sway,
And shout to meet the gath'ring storm.

3 What tho' the floods lift up their voice,
Thou hearest, Lord, our louder cry;
They cannot damp thy children's joys,
Or shake the soul, when GOD is nigh.

4 Headlong we cleave the yawning deep,
And back to highest heaven are born;
Unmov'd, tho' rapid whirldwinds sweep,
And all the wat'ry world upturn.

5 Roar on, ye waves! our souls defy
Your roaring to disturb our rest.
In vain t' impair the calm ye try,
The calm in a believer's breast.

6 Rage, while our faith the Saviour tries,
Thou sea, the servant of his will:
Rise, while our GOD permits thee rise;
But fall, when he shall say, 'BE STILL!'

It is presumed, the following extract from Mr. Whitefield's M.S. Journal, relative to this period, will be acceptable.

"Saturday, September 2. Had a most awful parting season at Tottenham-Court Chapel sacrament, last Sunday morning—the sermon from Gen. xxviii. 12. 'And he dreamed, and behold, a ladder set upon the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven; and, behold, the angels of God ascended and descended on it.' Preached from the same text at the Tabernacle, which was more than full, on Wednesday morning at seven o'clock. This day dined at my worthy, fast, and tried friend, Mr. Keen's; and having comfortably settled, and left all my outward concerns in his hands, I took an affectionate leave, and in company with some dear friends, this evening reached Gravesend; where others met us. We supped and conversed together in some degree, I trust, like persons who hoped, ere long, to sit down together at the marriage feast of the supper of the Lamb. Hasten, O Lord, that wished-for time!

"Sunday, September 3. Preached this morning at the Methodist's Tabernacle, from John xii. 32. 'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.' The congregation was not very large; but God gave me great freedom of speech, and made it indeed a house of God, and gate of heaven. In the afternoon, I preached in the market-place, from Gen. iii. 13. 'And the Lord God said unto the woman, what is this that thou hast done? and the woman said, the serpent beguiled me, and I did eat'—to a much larger, but not more devout auditory. In the out-skirts, as might naturally be expected, some were a little noisy; but a great body were very attentive, and I was enabled to lift up my voice like a trumpet. The remainder of the evening was spent as the night before, with my christian London friends, who, with me, less than the least of all, exceedingly rejoiced at the opportunity of a parting street-market-place preaching; where, I trust, some penny-less bankrupt sinners, were made willing to buy gospel wine and milk, without money and without price. May the great day shew, that this hope was not altogether ill grounded!

"Monday, September 4. Had my dear christian friends on board to breakfast with me this morning. Conversation was sweet, but parting bitter. What mean you, said the apostle, to weep and break my heart? However, through infinite mercy, I was helped to bear up; and after their departure, the divine presence made up the loss of all, even with new-creature comforts. Lord, if this divine presence go not with, and accompany me all the way, for thine infinite mercy sake, suffer me not to go one step farther!

'But I believe thy promise Lord,
Oh! help my unbelief!'

" Tuesday, September 5. The captain not coming down, as was expected, we did not weigh anchor till this morning's ebb.

" The winds being contrary, and the weather hazy, we did not arrive in the Downs till the Friday following. In the interim, I had the opportunity of conversing a little with the pilot, and strange passengers. All attend divine worship very orderly, and thanked me for my offer of lending them books, and giving them what assistance lay in my power, towards making their voyage comfortable. All seemed thankful, and the pilot parted with tears in his eyes. May the great and never-failing pilot, the almighty Jesus, renew us, and take us all into his holy protection, and then all must necessarily end in our safe arrival in the haven of eternal rest!

" Tuesday, September 12. Preached last Sunday morning to my little flock on board, and was most agreeably surprised to-day, with a kind unexpected visit from the Rev. Dr. Gibbons. His discourse was very friendly and devout.

" Wednesday, September 13. I went on shore, and attended an ordination solemnity, at the dissenting meeting. Several ministers officiated. Several very important questions were asked, and answered before, and a solemn charge given after imposition of hands. But the prayer put up in the very act of laying on of hands, by Dr. Gibbons, was so affecting, and the looks and behaviour of those that joined, so serisous and solemn, that I hardly know when I was more struck under any one's ministration. The ordination being over, at the desire of the ministers and other gentlemen, I went and dined with them; our conversation was edifying: and being informed, that many were desirous to hear me preach, I willingly complied; and I trust, some seed was sown the same evening at Deal; which, by God's heavenly blessing, will spring up to life eternal. The

people of Deal seemed very civil, and some came to me who had not forgotten my preaching to them, and their deceased friends and parents, thirty-two years ago.

"Friday, September 15. I had received most pressing invitations to visit Ramsgate, many weeks ago. These were now repeated by many of that place, who came to the ordination at Deal; so there was no resisting their importunity. We reached Ramsgate about two, took some refreshment, and there I preached about four, not to a very large, but an attentive and affected auditory. This I did also the morning following; and was most agreeably entertained with the discourse, and good memory of one in particular, who had been my fellow-passenger, and frequent hearer many years ago, in the Wilmington, captain Darling, bound to Piscataway, in New England. The people's behaviour here was so undissembledly generous, frank, genteel, and christian, that I know not where I have been more pleased and delighted. Being quite uneasy, lest by staying longer I should be unready, if the wind should turn favourable, I went early on Sunday morning to Deal, and from thence immediately aboard, and preached in the afternoon. This morning, I received a surreptitious copy of my Tabernacle farewell sermon, taken, as the short-hand writer professes, verbatim, as I spoke it. But surely he is mistaken. The whole is so injudiciously paragraphed, and so wretchedly unconnected, that I owe no thanks to the misguided, though it may be well-meant zeal of the writer and publisher, be they who they will. But such conduct is an unavoidable tax upon popularity. And all that appear for Jesus Christ and his blessed gospel, must, like their Master, expect to suffer from the false fire of professing friends, as well as secret malice of avowed enemies. However, if any one sentence is blessed to the conviction of one sinner, or the edification of any individual saint, I care not what becomes of

my character, though I would always pray to be preserved from bringing upon myself, or others, needless unnecessary contempt.

"Monday, September 25. Weighed anchor last Tuesday morning, with a small favourable gale and fine weather. So many ships which had lain in the Downs, moving at the same time, and gently gliding by us, together with the prospect of the adjacent shore, made a most agreeable scene. But it proved only a very transient one. For by that time we got to Fairlee, the wind backened, clouds gathered, very violent gales succeeded, and for several days we were so tossed, that after coming over against Brighthelmstone, the captain rightly judging, turned back, as did many other ships, and anchored over against New Rumsey and Dungeness. Lord, in thine own time, thou wilt give the winds a commission to carry us forward towards our desired port!"

Reader! what was it, think you, inspired this venerable evangelist with such a firm confidence in the goodness and mercy of God, towards his people in general, and himself in particular? Nothing but an experimental knowledge of, and a stedfast belief in, the most important doctrines of grace! For, in a letter to a minister, written many years ago, he thus expresses himself:—"The doctrines I have preached, come with double evidence upon my mind day by day. I am more and more convinced that they are the truths of God: they agree with the written word, and the experience of ALL the saints in ALL ages. Nothing more confirms me in the belief of them, than the opposition that is made against them by natural men. ELECTION, FREE GRACE, FREE JUSTIFICATION, without any regard to works foreseen, are such paradoxes to carnal minds, that they cannot away with them. This is the wisdom of God, which is foolishness with men; and which, the Lord

being my helper, I intend to exalt and contend for more and more; not with carnal weapons, that be far from me; but with the sword of the spirit, the word of God. No sword like that." And he continued to preach, and earnestly contend for those God-exalting, creature-humbling truths. "Truths which," as a good man once said,* "lie at the foundation of God's glory and his people's comfort, not only to this period, but to the end of his life!"

At length they were enabled to clear the channel; and proceeding on their voyage, arrived safe on November 30, at Charlestown, in South Carolina. They had a most perilous and trying passage; yet, on his arrival, Mr. Whitefield found himself in a much better state of health, than after any voyage he had made for many years. And his eagerness to promote the glory of God, and the good of precious souls, increased with his bodily strength, so that the same day he landed on the American shore, he preached at Charlestown, where his reception was as hearty, or more so than ever.† Here he was met by Mr. Wright, who brought him the welcome news that all things were in great forwardness at Bethesda.

In his memorandum-book, is written as follows:— "November, 1769. For the last week we were beating about our port, within sight of it, and continued for two days in five fathom hole, just over the bar. A dangerous situation, as the wind blew hard, and our ship, like a young christian, for want of more ballast, would not obey the helm. But through infinite mercy, on November 30, a pilot boat came and took us safe ashore to Charlestown, after being on board almost thirteen

* Mr. William Mason, author of the Spiritual Treasury, and many other valuable pieces, which have been made exceedingly useful to many of God's children.

† Letter 1441.

Extract from the Georgia Gazette.—" Savannah, January 31, 1770. Last Sunday, his excellency, the governor, council and assembly, having been invited by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, attended at divine service in the chapel of the orphan-house academy, where prayers were read by the Rev. Mr. Ellington, and a very suitable sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, from Zachariah iv. 10, " For who hath despised the day of small things ?" to the great satisfaction of the auditory ; in which he took occasion to mention the many discouragements he met with, well known to many there, in carrying on the institution for upwards of thirty years past, and the present promising prospect of its future and more extensive usefulness. After divine service, the company were very politely entertained with a handsome and plentiful dinner; and were greatly pleased to see the useful improvements made in the house, the two additional wings for apartments for students, one hundred and fifty feet each in length, and other lesser buildings, in so much forwardness ; and the whole executed with taste, and in so masterly a manner : and being sensible of the truly generous and disinterested benefactions derived to the province through his means, they expressed their gratitude in the most respectful terms."

The following speech was delivered by an orphan, after Mr. Whitefield's sermon, preached before the governors, &c. &c. January 28, 1770.

" When I consider where I stand, and before whom I am about to speak, no wonder that, previous to my rising, a trembling seized my limbs ; and now, when risen, a throbbing seizes my heart ; and as a consequence of both, shame and confusion cover my face. For what am I, a poor unlettered orphan, unlearned almost in the very rudiments of my mother's tongue, and totally unskilled in the persuasive arts of speaking, that I should be called to speak before such a venerable, august as-

weeks. Friends received me most cordially. Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his mercies. Oh! to begin to be a christian and minister of Jesus!"

When he reached Bethesda, he writes:—"January 11, 1770. Every thing exceeds my most sanguine expectations. I am almost tempted to say, it is good for me to be here; but all must give way to gospel ranging—divine employ!

> "For this, let men revile my name,
> I'll shun no cross, I'll fear no shame;
> All hail, reproach!————"

In another letter, Mr. Whitefield says, "And the increase of this colony is almost incredible. Two wings are added to the orphan-house, for the accommodation of students; of which governor Wright laid the foundation, March 25, 1769."*

The very great esteem which the whole colony entertained for Mr. Whitefield, and which at this time, in particular, they thought it their duty to express, appears from the following papers:—

"COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, Monday, January 29, 1770. Mr. Speaker reported, that he, with the house, having waited on the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, in consequence of his invitation, at the orphan-house academy, heard him preach a very suitable and pious sermon on the occasion; and with great pleasure observed the promising appearance of improvement, towards the good purposes intended, and the decency and propriety of behaviour of the several residents there; and were sensibly affected, when they saw the happy success which has attended Mr. Whitefield's indefatigable zeal for promoting the welfare of the province in general, and the orphan-house in particular. Ordered, that this report be printed in the Gazette.

"JOHN SIMPSON, *Clerk.*"

* Letters 1445, and 1446.

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sembly, as is this day convened under Bethesda's roof? But, when I reflect, that I stand up at your command, Rev. Sir, to whom under God, I owe my little all; and when I further reflect on the well-known candour of those that compose this venerable august assembly, my trembling begins to abate, my throbbing ceases, and a gleam of hope breaks in, that the tongue of the stammerer will, in some degree, be able to speak plain. But, where shall I begin? and how shall I express the various emotions, that within the space of half an hour alternately agitated and affected my soul? If the eye, as I have been taught to think, is the looking-glass of the soul; and if the outward gestures, and earnest attention, are indications and expressive of the inward commotions and dispositions of the human heart, then a heartfelt complacency and joy hath possessed the souls of many in this assembly, whilst the Rev. Founder hath been giving from the pulpit such a clear, succinct, and yet withal, affecting account of the rise and progress of his orphan-house academy, and of the low estate of this now flourishing colony, when the first brick of this edifice was laid. All hail that happy day! which we now commemorate, when about thirty-two years ago, in faith and fervent prayer, the first brick of this edifice was laid. Many destitute orphans were soon taken in, and without any visible fund, in the dearest part of his majesty's dominions—more than fifty labourers were employed and honourably paid; and a large orphan family, for these many years, hath been supported, clothed, and brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. O could these walls speak! could every chamber, every corner of this fabric speak! what agonizing supplications, what inwrought energetic prayers would they tell us they had been witness to; and also of the blessed fruits, of which we are now partakers! Behold! a once infant, deserted, and despised colony, not only lifting up its drooping head, and in some degree

over-topping, at least, for trade, and increase and extent of commerce, vying with some of its neigbouring provinces. Behold! the once despised institution! the very existence of which for many years denied, through the indefatigable industry, unparalleled disinterestedness and unwearied perseverence of its Rev. Founder, expanding and stretching its wings, not only to receive a larger number of helpless orphans like myself, but to nurse and cherish many of the rising generation, training them up to be ornaments both in church and state. For ever adored be that providence, that power and goodness, which have brought matters to such a desirable and long-expected issue!—Thanks, thanks be rendered to your excellency, for the countenance you have always given to this beneficent plan, for laying the first brick of yonder wings this time twelve-month, and for the favour of your company on this our anniversary.—Thanks to you, Mr. President,* who have long been a fellow-helper in this important work, and have now the pleasure of seeing the fruit of all your labours.—Thanks to the gentlemen of his majesty's honourable council, and to the members of the general assembly, who so warmly recommended the utility of this institution.—Thanks to you, Sir, who first opened it by preaching.—Thanks to you who left your native country, and without fee or reward, have for many years laboured and watched over us in the Lord.—Thanks to all who have this day honoured us with their presence.—And, above all, thanks, more than an orphan tongue can utter, or orphan hearts conceive, be under God, rendered unto you, most honoured Sir, who have been so happily instrumental, in the hands of a never-failing God, in spreading his everlasting gospel."

* The hon. Mr. Habersham, president of his majesty's council, and Mr. Whitefield's executor, in Georgia.

TO MR. ROBERT KEEN.

February 10, 1770, Mr. Whitefield writes:—"Through infinite mercy, this leaves me enjoying a greater share of bodily health than I have known for many years. I am now enabled to preach almost every day, and my poor feeble labours seem not to be in vain in the Lord. Blessed be God, all things are in great forwardness at Bethesda. I have conversed with the governor in the most explicit manner, more than once, concerning an act of assembly, for the establishment of the intended orphan-house college. He most readily consents. I have shewn him a draught, which he much approves of, and all will be finished at my return from the northward. In the meanwhile, the building will be carried on, as two ministers from the New Jerseys and Rhode Island, have been soliciting benefactions for their respective colleges: no application of that nature can be made here; but the Lord will provide! My eyes wait upon Him, from whom all temporal and spiritual salvations come. Since my being in Charlestown, I have shewn the draught to some persons of great eminence and influence. They highly approve of it, and willingly consent to be some of the wardens. Near twenty are to be of Georgia, and about six of this place; one of Philadelphia, one of New York, one of Boston, three of Edinburgh, two of Glasgow, and six of London. Those of Georgia and South Carolina, are to be qualified; the others to be only honorary corresponding wardens. I have therefore taken the freedom of nominating ******; and as my name is to be annihilated, they may accept the trust without expecting much trouble, or suffering contempt for being connected with me. This, I think, is the chief of the plan: more particulars that may occur, together with the draught of the charter, you may expect hereafter."*

* Letter 1447.

TO THE SAME.

"*Charlestown, February* 12, 1770.

"No letters by the packet, or another ship, that hath brought in above five hundred from London. As I hear captain Rainer is bound for Savannah, I hope at my return to Bethesda, to find a letter there. Your last, dated November 2, was immediately answered. Mr. B———s will accept my most grateful acknowledgments for his kind present of maps, charts, &c. In a few months, I hope, all will be completed. But what may these few months produce? Lord Jesus, prepare us for whatsoever thou hast prepared for us, and give peace in our time, for thine infinite mercy's sake! You must expect another draught soon. God be praised for that saying, it is more blessed to give than to receive. You would be pleased to see with what attention people hear the word preached. I have been in Charlestown near a fortnight—am to preach at a neighbouring country parish church next Sunday, and hope to see Georgia the week following. Perhaps I may sail from thence to the northward, and perhaps embark from thence. Lord Jesus, direct my goings in thy way! I am blessed with bodily health, and am enabled to go on my way rejoicing. Grace! grace! Join in shouting those blessed words. I wrote by one captain Watt, who was to sail from Georgia this week. In that you will find something concerning my late visit to, and public entertainment at Bethesda. You see how often I pester you with letters. I can only add, that you may tell all, I am happier than words can express; which I take, in a great measure, to be owing to the prayers of my dear English friends, which are daily put up for me, and I hope daily returned by, an unworthy worm."*

* Letter 1450.

TO ANOTHER FRIEND.

"*Charlestown, February* 27, 1770.

"I owe you an answer to your kind letter. Blessed be God, I can send you good news from a far country! All things at Bethesda go on quite well. My bodily health is upon the advance; and the word, I trust, runs and is glorified. At present, my intended plan about returning, continues the same; but all depends on news from home. Strange! that none could write a line or two by so many ships. Only one letter have I received from Mr. Keen, since my arrival. Next week, God willing, I return to Georgia; and soon after, I purpose to go to the northward. I know who will follow me with their prayers—they will avail much. The Lord Jesus be with all your spirits! I suppose you heard from Bethesda, by captain Anderson. Mr. Wright is the main spring, with regard to the buildings; and all the other wheels move orderly and well. Praise the Lord, O my soul! O this pilgrim way of life! To me it is life indeed. No nestling, no nestling, my dear Mr. Brown, on this side eternity. This is not our rest. Ere long we shall sing:—

All our sorrows left below,
And earth exchang'd for heav'n.

Leaving you to add *Hallelujah;* and sending most hearty greetings to your whole self, &c."*

"*Savannah, March* 11, 1770.

"Blessed be God, the good wine seemed to be kept to the last at Charlestown. Last Thursday, I returned, and found all well at Bethesda. I am come to town to preach this morning, though somewhat fatigued, with being on the water three nights. Upon the whole,

* Letter 1457.

however, I am better in health than I have been for many years. Praise the Lord, O my soul! I have been sadly disappointed in receiving no letters by the Charlestown packet. All knew that I was to be in those parts, only till the ensuing Lady-day: then I purpose to set off for the northward. I drew at Charlestown, for ———. Perhaps may draw again soon. Expect more particulars in a few days. This is waited for. God bless you all! Dearly beloved in the Lord, pray for us. Time is scarce allowed me to subscribe myself, my very dear friend,

"Less than the least of all,

"G. W."*

"*Bethesda, April* 6, 1770.

"I am waiting here for a brig that is to carry me northward, and for a letter and news for England. Your last was dated November 2. Several months have intervened. I now almost despair of hearing from you again, till my arrival at Boston. But I hope that you, and all, remember us more frequently than you write. You are daily remembered at a throne of grace. How glad would many be to see our Goshen, our Bethel, our Bethesda! Never did I enjoy such domestic peace, comfort, and joy, during my whole pilgrimage. It is unspeakable, it is full of glory. Peace, peace unutterable attends our paths; and a pleasing prospect of increasing, useful prosperity, is continually rising to our view. I have lately taken six poor children, and God willing, purpose to add greatly to their number. Dear Mr. D———n and his wife are to sail the beginning of next month, in the Britannia, captain Dean, bound for Portsmouth. We part with great respect. Fain would I retain such an old, tried, disinterested friend, in the

* Letter 1459.

service of the sanctuary, and near my person. But what scheme to pursue, I know not, being uncertain as to the path which I shall be called to take. A few months will determine, perhaps a few weeks. In the mean while, I can only commend you all to the blessed Jesus, and the word of his grace; and intreat the continuance of your prayers. Again, hallelujah! praise the Lord! The books and letters, both by Ball and Sunbury, are come safe. You have done quite right. Our Lord must choose his own means to bring about his own purpose. Mr. Smith, the clerk, was much rejoiced by receiving a letter. Poor Mr. Jacob W———t, an honest industrious creature, was as much dejected by receiving none. If Mr. G———s had added a line or two to his present, it would have been doubly acceptable. Next week, God willing, we sail for Philadelphia. I shall leave letters behind me to come by Mr. D———n. All is well—all more than well here! Never, never did I enjoy such an æra of domestic peace and happiness. I have taken about ten orphans. Prizes! prizes! Hallelujah! Join my very dear friends, join in praising Him whose name endureth for ever. If possible, I shall write a line to the Welch brethren. They have sustained a loss indeed, in the death of Mr. Howell Davies. God sanctify it! surely my time will come by and by. But I must away to Savannah. Real good, I trust, is done there."*

"*Bethesda, April* 20, 1770.

"To my very great joy, a few day ago, I received your very kind letters, with all the papers. We enjoy a little heaven on earth here. With regret I go northward, as far as Philadelphia, at least next Monday. Though I am persuaded, as the house is now altered, I

* Letter 1460.

should be cooler here, during the summer's heat than at any other place I know of where I used to go. I should be glad to treat you with some of the produce of our colony, which is much earlier than your's. The audits, &c. sent with this, be pleased to communicate to all my real friends. You have certainly determined quite right in a late affair. Every thing concurs to shew me, that Bethesda's affairs must go on as yet in their old channel. A few months may open strange scenes. O for a spirit of love and moderation on all sides, and on both sides the water! I wish some books might be procured for our infant library; but more of this in our next. Letters may now be sent by way of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. I should be glad to hear often, if it be but a line. In all probability, I shall not return hither till November. Was ever any man blessed with such a set of skilful, peaceful, laborious helpers! O Bethesda, my *Bethel*, my *Peniel!* My happiness is inconceivable. A few hundreds, besides what is already devoted, would finish all, I do not in the least doubt. I have had nine or ten prizes lately. You know what I mean—nine or ten orphans have lately been taken in. Hallelujah! hallelujah! Let chapel, tabernacle, heaven, and earth, rebound with hallelujah! I can no more. My heart is too big to speak or add more."*

"*Bethesda, April* 21, 1770.

"This comes to inform you, that the Father of mercies hath not forgotten to be gracious to the chief of sinners, and less than the least of all saints. On the contrary, he daily loads us with his benefits. Bethesda is a place, that the Lord doth and will bless. Dear Mr. D———n and his wife, will inform you of particulars. Among other things, they will tell you of

* Letter 1461.

our new chapel. I have sent for sundries for its use and completion O help me to praise Him, whose loving-kindness is better than life! I hope your daughter grows in grace, and will become like unto one of the polished corners of the temple. That root and branch may increase, with all the increase of God, most cordially prays, &c."*

From these and the following extracts, may be seen the astonishing goodness of God to this distinguished minister of Christ. What blessings attended his ministry! What success crownded all his undertakings! How was his soul supported under every difficulty, amid hosts of foes, against all opposition! Still was he enabled to triumph, and come off more than conqueror through Him that loved him.

"*Bethesda, April* 21, 1770.

"No such good news yet. Less than the least of all is not drowned to this very day. Perhaps he may live to see his London friends in England, or at Bethesda. How would many rejoice to be in such a peaceful, peaceable, commodious, and comfortable habitation! I cannot tell you half. Blessed be God, I was never better at this season of the year in bodily health—never more comfortable in my soul. Grace! grace! Hallelujah! Praise the Lord.

"Again—Well! so that we may die daily to ourselves and the world, all is well, and shall be well. This I am persuaded is your happy case; and, in some degree, I trust, it is mine."†

"*Savannah, April* 24, 1770.

"Five in the morning—I am just going into the boat, in order to embark for Philadelphia. I hope the

* Letter 1462.
† Letter 1467.

good wine was left to the last on Sunday. Mr. D——n and his wife, are to sail in a fortnight. He is an honest creature, and an excellent accomptant. I have written strongly on his behalf. He will bring a large packet, and is to have ——— pounds of you, which I have given him as a present. This will prove a blessed year for me at the day of judgment. Hallelujah! come Lord, come! Mr. Robert Wright hath herewith sent you a power of attorney, begging you would settle his affairs in Essex. He is worthy, for whom you should do this. A quiet, ingenious, good creature; and his wife an excellent mistress of the family. Such a set of helpers I never met with. They will go on with the buildings, while I take my gospel range to the northward. It is for thee, O Jesus, even for thee, thou never-failing Bethesda's God!"*

"*Philadelphia, May* 9, 1770.

"This leaves me a two days inhabitant of Philadelphia. I embarked at Savannah in the Georgia packet, on the twenty-fourth ultimo, and arrived here the sixth instant. The evening following, I was enabled to preach to a large auditory, and was to repeat the delightful task this evening. Pulpits, hearts, and affections, seem to be as open and enlarged towards me as ever. Praise the Lord, O my soul! As yet I have my old plan in view, to travel in these northern parts all summer, and return late in the fall to Georgia. Through infinite mercy, I still continue in good health, and more and more in love every day with a pilgrim life. God bless you and all my dear friends and hearers in the great metropolis. I know they pray for me. They are never forgotten day or night."†

* Letter 1468.
† Letter 1469.

" *Philadelphia, May* 24, 1770.

" I have now been here near three weeks; and in about a week more, I purpose to set off for New York, in my way to Boston. A wide and effectual door, I trust, hath been opened in this city. People of all ranks flock as much as ever. Impressions are made on many, and I trust they will abide. To all the episcopal churches, as well as most of the other places of worship, I have free access. Notwithstanding I preach twice on the Lord's-day, and three or four times a week besides, yet I am rather better than I have been for many years. This is the Lord's doing. To the long-suffering, never-failing Lord, be all the glory."*

" *Philadelphia, June* 14, 1770.

" This leaves me just returned from one hundred and fifty miles circuit, in which, blessed be God, I have been enabled to preach every day. So many new as well as old doors are open, and so many invitations sent from various quarters, that I know not which way to turn myself. However, at present, I am bound to New York. Help me to praise Him whose mercy endureth for ever. As yet, I am enabled to ride and travel chearfully; the heat not being greater than in England. Expect to hear further, as we go along. The ship I find is going."†

" *New York, June* 30.

" I have been here just a week. Have been enabled to preach four times: and am to repeat the delightful task this evening. Congregations are larger than ever. You will see, by the inclosed packet, what numerous invitations from every quarter, I am daily receiving. Blessed be God, I have been strengthened to itinerate and preach daily, for some time. Next week I purpose

* Letter 1470.
† Letter 1471.

to go to Albany—from thence, perhaps, to the Oneida Indians: there is to be a very large Indian congress—Mr. Kirkland accompanies me. He is a truly christian minister, and missionary. Every thing possible should be done to strengthen his hands and his heart. I shall write, God willing, at my return. Perhaps I may not see Georgia till Christmas. As yet, I keep to my intended plan, in respect to my returning. Lord Jesus direct my goings in thy way! The heat begins now to be a little intense; but, through mercy, I am enabled to bear up bravely. What a God do we serve!"*

Infidel! read, and tremble! This awful God who thus preserves the men who fear him, though earth and hell unite against them; this God shall surely come in flaming fire, to judge and punish all who now despise his power, reject his word, and persecute his saints!

But, O ye fearful saints, fresh courage take; for this same God is your's, your Father and your friend. For you He comes in smiling majesty, with his angelic hosts, to raise your ransomed souls from earth to heaven!

"*New York, July* 29, 1770.

"Since my last, and during this month, I have been above a five hundred miles circuit; and have been enabled to preach and travel through the heat every day. The congregations have been very large, attentive, and affected; particularly at Albany, Scheneclady, Great Burrington, Norfolk, Salisbury, Sharon, Smithfield, Powkeepsey, Fish Hill, New Rumbart, New Windsor, and Peck's Hill. Last night I returned hither, and hope to set out for Boston in two or three days. O what a new scene of usefulness is opening in various parts of this world! All fresh work, where I have been. The divine influence has been as at the first. Invitations

* Letter 1472.

crowd upon me both from ministers and people, from many, many quarters. A very peculiar providence led me lately to a place where a horse-stealer was executed. Thousands attended. The poor criminal had sent me several letters, hearing I was in the country. The sheriff allowed him to come and hear a sermon under an adjacent tree. Solemn, solemn! After being by himself about an hour, I walked half a mile with him to the gallows. His heart had been softened before my first visit. He seemed full of solid divine consolation. An instructive walk! I went up with him into the cart. He gave a short exhortation. I then stood upon the coffin—added, I trust, a word in season—prayed, gave the blessing, and took my leave. Effectual good, I hope, was done to the hearers and spectators. Grace! grace! But I must not enlarge."*

Boston, September 17.

He writes to Mr. Wright, at Bethesda:—"Fain would I come by captain Souder, from Philadelphia; but people are so importunate for my stay in these parts, that I fear it will be impracticable. My God will supply all my wants, according to the riches of his grace in Christ Jesus. Two or three evenings ago, I was taken in the night with a violent lax, attended with reaching and shivering; so that I was obliged to return from Newbury, &c. &c. but, through infinite mercy, I am restored, and to-morrow morning hope to begin again. Never was the word received with greater eagerness than now. All opposition seems, as it were for a while to cease. I find God's time is the best. The season is critical as to outward circumstances: but when forts are given up, the Lord Jesus can appoint salvation for walls and for bulwarks; he hath promised to be a wall of fire round about his people. This comforts me con-

* Letter 1473.

cerning Bethesda, though we should have a Spanish war. You will be pleased to hear, I never was carried through the summer's heat so well."*

And lastly, to his dear friend, Mr. Keen, in London. Portsmouth, New Hampshire, September 23, 1770:—"By this time I thought to be moving southward. But never was greater importunity used to detain me longer in these northern parts. Poor New England is much to be pitied—Boston people most of all. How grossly misrepresented! What a mercy that our christian charter cannot be dissolved! Blessed be God for an unchangeable Jesus! You will see, by the many invitations, what a door is opened for preaching the everlasting gospel. I was so ill on Friday, that I could not preach, though thousands were waiting to hear. Well, the day of release will shortly come,† but it does not seem yet; for by riding sixty miles I am better, and hope to preach here to-morrow. I trust my blessed Master will accept these poor efforts to serve him. O for a warm heart! O to stand fast in the faith, to quit ourselves like men, and be strong! May this be the happy experience of you and your's! I suppose your letters are gone for me in the Anderson to Georgia. If spared so long, I expect to see it about Christmas. Still pray and praise. I am so poorly, and so engaged, when able to preach, that this must apologize for not writing to more friends—it is quite impracticable. Hoping to see all dear friends about the time proposed, and earnestly desiring a continual interest in all your prayers, &c."‡

Thus ended the epistolary labours of this truly great man; of whom the pious Mr. Hervey once wrote to a friend thus:—"I have seen lately that most excel-

* Letter 1474.
† Letter 1475.
‡ Mr. Whitefield died the 30th.

lent minister of the ever-blessed Jesus, Mr. Whitefield. I dined, supped, and spent the evening with him at Northampton, in company with Dr. Doddridge, and two pious, ingenious clergymen of the church of England, both of them known to the learned world by their valuable writings. And surely, I never spent a more delightful evening, or saw one that seemed to make nearer approaches to the felicity of heaven. A gentleman of great worth and rank in the town, invited us to his house, and gave us an elegant treat: but how mean was his provision, how coarse his delicacies, compared with the fruit of my friend's lips—they dropped as the honey-comb, and were as a well of life. Surely people do not know that amiable and exemplary man, or else, I cannot but think, instead of depreciating, they would applaud and love him. For my part, I never beheld so fair a copy of our Lord—such a living image of the Saviour—such exalted delight in God—such enlarged benevolence to man—such a steady faith in divine promises—and such a fervent zeal for the divine glory—and all this without the least moroseness of humour, or extravagancies of behaviour, sweetened with the most engaging chearfulness of temper, and regulated by all the sobriety of reason, and wisdom of scripture; insomuch, that I cannot forbear applying the wise man's encomium of an illustrious woman, to this eminent minister of the everlasting gospel—many sons have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all."

From the 17th to the 20th of September, Mr. Whitefield preached every day at Boston; on the 20th of September, at Newton; and proceeded from Boston, September the 21st, on an excursion to the eastward, although at that time indisposed. At Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, he preached daily from the 23d to the 29th of September; also once at Kittery, and

once at Old York: and, on Saturday morning, September 29, he set out for Boston; but before he came to Newbury Port, where he had engaged to preach next morning, he was importuned to preach by the way, at Exeter. At the last he preached in the open air, to accomodate the multitudes that came to hear him, no house being able to contain them. He continued his discourse near two hours, by which he was greatly fatigued; notwithstanding which, in the afternoon, he set off for Newbury Port, where he arrived that evening; and soon after retired to rest, being Saturday night, fully intent on preaching the next day. His rest was much broken, and he awoke many times in the night, and complained very much of an opression at his lungs, breathing with much difficulty. And at length, about six o'clock on the Lord's day morning, he departed this life, in a fit of the asthma.

Thus died this faithful labourer in the gospel vineyard, who finished his course with joy, and is now singing the praises of that Jesus, whom he so many years delighted to preach. Reader! mayest thou and I be prepared to follow him!

Mr. Richard Smith, who attended Mr. Whitefield from England to America the last time, and was his constant companion in all his journeyings while there, till the time of his decease, has given the following particular account of his death and interment:—

"On Saturday, September 29, 1770, Mr. Whitefield rode from Portsmouth to Exeter (fifteen miles) in the morning, and preached there to a very great multitude, in the fields. It is remarkable, that before he went out to preach that day, (which proved to be his last sermon) Mr. Clarkson, senior, observing him more uneasy than usual, said to him, 'Sir, you are more fit to go to bed than to preach.' To which Mr. Whitefield answered, 'True sir,' but turning aside, he clasped

his hands together, and looking up, said—'Lord Jesus, I am weary *in* thy work, but not *of* thy work. If I have not yet finished my course, let me go and speak for thee once more in the fields, seal thy truth, and come home and die.' His last sermon was from 2 Cor. xiii. 5—'Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your ownselves: know ye not your ownselves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?' He dined at captain Gillman's. After dinner, Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Parsons rode to Newbury. I did not get there till two hours after them. I found them at supper. I asked Mr. Whitefield, how he felt himself after his journey. He said, 'he was tired, therefore he supped early, and would go to bed.' He eat a very little supper, talked but little, asked Mr. Parsons to discharge the table, and perform family duty; and then retired up stairs. He said, 'that he would sit and read till I came to him,' which I did as soon as possible; and found him reading in the Bible, with Dr. Watts's Psalms lying open before him. He asked me for some water-gruel, and took about half his usual quantity; and kneeling down by the bedside, closed the evening with prayer. After a little conversation, he went to rest, and slept till two in the morning, when he awoke me, and asked for a little cyder; he drank about a wine-glass full. I asked him how he felt, for he seemed to pant for breath. He told me 'his asthma was coming on him again; he must have two or three days rest. Two or three days riding, without preaching, would set him up again.' Soon afterwards, he asked me to put the window up a little higher, (though it was half up all night) "for," said he, 'I cannot breathe; but I hope I shall be better by and by; a good pulpit sweat to-day, may give me relief: I shall be better after preaching.' I said to him, I wished he would

not preach so often. He replied, 'I had rather *wear* out than *rust* out.' I then told him, I was afraid he took cold in preaching yesterday. He said, 'he believed he had;' and then sat up in the bed, and prayed that God would be pleased to bless his preaching where he had been, and also bless his preaching that day, that more souls might be brought to Christ; and prayed for direction, whether he should winter at Boston, or hasten to the southward—prayed for a blessing on his Bethesda college, and his dear family there—for Tabernacle and Chapel congregations, and all connections on the other side of the water; and then laid himself down to sleep again. This was nigh three o'clock. At a quarter past four he waked, and said, 'My asthma, my asthma, is coming on; I wish I had not given out word to preach at Haverill, on Monday; I don't think I shall be able; but, I shall see what to-day will bring forth. If I am no better to-morrow, I will take two or three days ride!' He then desired me to warm him a little gruel; and, in breaking the firewood, I waked Mr. Parsons, who thinking I knocked for him, rose and came in. He went to Mr. Whitefield's bed-side, and asked him how he felt himself. He answered, 'I am almost suffocated. I can scarce breathe, my asthma quite choaks me.' I was then not a little surprized, to hear how quick, and with what difficulty, he drew his breath. He got out of bed, and went to the open window for air. This was exactly at five o'clock. I went to him, and for about the space of five minutes saw no danger, only that he had a great difficulty in breathing, as I had often seen before. Soon afterwards he turned himself to me, and said, '*I am dying.*' I said, 'I hope not, sir.' He ran to the other window panting for breath, but could get no relief. It was agreed that I should go for Dr. Sawyer; and on my coming back, I saw death on

his face; and he again said, '*I am dying.*' His eyes were fixed, his under lip drawing inward every time he drew breath; he went towards the window, and we offered him some warm wine, with lavender drops, which he refused. I persuaded him to sit down in the chair, and have his cloak on; he consented by a sign, but could not speak. I then offered him the glass of warm wine; he took half of it, but it seemed as if it would have stopped his breath entirely. In a little time he brought a considerable quantity of phlegm and wind. I then began to have some small hopes. Mr. Parsons said, he thought Mr. Whitefield breathed more freely than he did, and would recover. I said, 'No sir, he is certainly dying.' I was continually employed in taking the phlegm out of his mouth with a handkerchief, and bathing his temples with drops, rubbing his wrists, &c. to give him relief, if possible, but all in vain; his hands and feet were as cold as clay. When the doctor came in, and saw him in the chair leaning upon my breast, he felt his pulse, and said, 'he is a dead man.' Mr. Parsons said, 'I do not believe it; you must do something doctor!' He said, 'I cannot; he is now near his last breath.' And indeed so it was; for he fetched but one gasp, and stretched out his feet, and breathed no more. This was exactly at six o'clock. We continued rubbing his legs, hands, and feet. With warm cloths, and bathed him with spirits for some time, but all in vain. I then put him into a warm bed, the doctor standing by, and often raised him upright, continued rubbing him and putting spirits to his nose for an hour, till all hopes were gone. The people came in crowds to see him; I begged the doctor to shut the door.

"The Rev. Mr. Parsons, at whose house my dear master died, sent for captain Fetcomb, and Mr. Boadman, and others of his elders and deacons, and they took the whole of the burial upon themselves; pre-

pared the vault, and sent and invited the bearers. Many ministers of all persuasions came to the house of the Rev. Mr Parsons, where several of them gave a very particular account of their first awakenings under his ministry, several years ago, and also of many in their congregations, that to their knowledge, under God, owed their conversion wholly to his coming among them, often repeating the blessed seasons they had enjoyed under his preaching: and all said, that this last visit was attended with more power, than any other; and that all opposition fell before him. Then one and another of them would pity and pray for his dear Tabernacle and Chapel congregations, and it was truly affecting to hear them bemoan America and England's loss. Thus they continued for two hours conversing about his great usefulnes, and praying that God would scatter his gifts and drop his mantle among them. When the corpse was placed at the foot of the pulpit, close to the vault, the Rev. Daniel Rogers, made a very affecting prayer, and openly confessed, that under God, he owed his conversion to the labours of that dear man of God, whose precious remains now lay before them. Then he cried out, O my father, my father! then stopped and wept, as though his heart would break and the people weeping all through the place. Then he recovered, and finished his prayer, and sat down and wept. Then one of the deacons gave out that hymn,

Why do we mourn departing friends? &c.

some of the people weeping, some singing, and so on alternately. The Rev. Mr. Jewel preached a funeral discourse, and made an affectionate address to his brethren, to lay to heart the death of that useful man of God; begging that he and they might be upon their watch-tower, and endeavour to follow his blessed example. The corpse was then put into the vault, and

all concluded with a short prayer, and dismission of the people, who went weeping through the streets to their respective places of abode."

The melancholy news of Mr. Whitefield's decease, arrived in London, on Monday, November 5, 1770, by the Boston Gazette, and also by several letters from different correspondents at Boston, to his worthy friend, Mr. R. Keen; who received likewise, by the same post, two letters written with his own hand, when in good health, one seven and the other five days before his death. Mr. Keen caused the mournful tidings to be published the same night at the Tabernacle, and the following evening at Tottenham-Court Chapel. His next step was to consider of a proper person to deliver a funeral discourse, when it occured to his mind, that he had many times said to Mr. Whitefield, "If you should die abroad who shall we get to preach your funeral sermon? Must it be your old friend, the Rev. John Wesley?" And his answer constantly was, "He is the man." Mr. Keen therefore waited on Mr. Wesley, on the Saturday following, and he promised to preach it on the Lord's day, November 18, which he did, to an extraordinary crowded and mournful auditory; many hundreds being obliged to go away, who could not possibly get within the doors.

In both the Chapel and Tabernacle, the pulpits, &c. were hung with black cloth, and the galleries with fine black baize. Escutcheons were affixed to the fronts of the pulpits; and on each of the adjoining houses, hatchments were put up: the motto on which was—"*Mea vita salus & gloria Christus.*" At the expiration of six months, the mourning in each place of worship, and the escutcheons in the vestries, were taken down. The hatchments remained twelve months, when one was taken down, and placed in the Tabernacle, and the other over a neat marble monument,

erected by Mr. Whitefield for his wife, in Tottenham-Court Chapel, with a space left for an inscription respecting himself after his decease, as he wished to be interred in the same vault, had he died in England. Accordingly the following epitaph was written by the Rev. Titus Knight,* of Halifax, in Yorkshire—

In Memory of
The Rev. GEORGE WHITEFIELD, A. M.
Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Countess of Huntingdon,
Whose Soul, made meet for Glory,
Was taken to Imanuel's Bosom,
On the 30th of September, 1770;
And who now lies in the silent Grave, at Newbury Port, near Boston,
In NEW ENGLAND;
There deposited in hope of a joyful Resurrection to Eternal Life and Glory.
He was a Man eminent in Piety,
Of a Humane, Benevolent, and Charitable Disposition.
His Zeal in the Cause of God was singular;
His Labours indefatigable;
And his Success in preaching the Gospel remarkable and astonishing.
He departed this Life,
In the Fifty-sixth Year of his Age.

And, like his Master, was by some despis'd;
Like Him, by many others lov'd and priz'd:
But their's shall be the everlasting Crown,
Not whom the world, but Jesus Christ will own.

* The Rev. Titus Knight, was a native of Halifax, a town in which he exercised his ministry, and in which, indeed, he may be said to have spent his whole life. He was born December 17, 1719. During his childhood, he had a particular veneration for sacred things, took a delight in attending the church, and used frequently to weep. At the same early period he learnt something of the vanity and unsatisfying nature of all worldly pleasure, long before he knew where to seek for solid and substantial

Mr. Whitefield was not quite fifty-six years of age at the time of his decease; thirty-four years of which he spent

happiness. Many instances of this he used to relate; of which the following is a specimen. The annual fair at Halifax, which is kept on midsummer day, was a season to which he looked forward with the most eager expectation of pleasure and satisfaction. But when this day came, he invariably found the most painful disappointment; in a few hours he grew weary of diversion, wandered about quite unhappy, and never could this extraordinary day afford him any satisfaction, unless when he could retire from the noise and hurry of it, to enjoy the common recreation of bathing.

It may not be improper here to introduce some account of an interesting part of his life, which he has given in a work, entitled, Amyntas and Philetus, or Christian Conversation, &c. published in the year 1770. The reader, therefore, will not be displeased, if the memorialist retire a little, while he who is the subject of this sketch is introduced to speak (though dead) of the things which it pleased God to do for his soul.

"My dear parents were of the establishment; and although filial duty, as well as christian charity, requires me to hope the best in behalf of them, yet I seldom or ever saw or heard any thing of religion but at church on the Sabbath-day. They were, I believe, strictly honest in their dealings with men, supported a fair character, and appeared as religious as their neighbours, nor suspected as church-folks, they could miss of salvation. I was taught to conceive of Dissenters, as base hypocrites, a people that resembled the Scribes and Pharisees, against whom our Lord so vehemently inveighed, and denounced so many woes; men that attempted to hide their wickedness by a deceitful pretext of superior sanctity. In consequence of these and the like things spoken of Dissenters, and confirmed by instances I was then incapable of inquiring into, or judging of, I contracted very unfavourably ideas of every sect of Protestant Dissenters; and, I think, could vie with any in bigotry and zeal, thinking as highly of the *Church*, as it was possible for any to think of the *Meeting*. But I can never sufficiently admire or adore the free, rich, and distinguishing grace of God to me; for although there was nothing of religion in our family, not even so much as the form; and the way of life I was engaged in, from seven years old, not only unfavourable to, but quite destructive of all good morals, yet it pleased the Lord to preserve me from the filthy conversation of my necessary companions, and from learning and using the diabolical language, I mean of cursing and swearing, which was daily intermixed with the most familiar conversations. About the age of eleven, I began to be very thoughtful concerning a future state. The cogitations of the day afforded

in the work of the ministry. And surely, if life is to be measured by the greatest diligence and enjoyment; as

much matter for imagination in my sleeping hours, so that I often alarmed the family with the most lamentable shrieks and cries, occasioned by terrifying dreams of being shut out from God, and thrust into endless torments. These thoughts and dreams, &c. produced an uncommon seriousness in my whole deportment. I diligently read the Bible, gladly catching every opportunity of attending public prayers at the church in the week-days, prayed often and fervently in secret; and in secret it was, for prayer not being used in the family, I feared to be found in the practice of it. These impressions, and the influences thereof, abode with me for the space of six years, during all which time I sought and expected the favour of God, and the acceptation of my person, solely on the account of my own righteousness. Nor is this at all to be wondered at, seeing all the sons of Adam naturally seek justification and life, by virtue of that law and covenant which he violated and broke in Paradise. Nor was this error in any-wise corrected by any of the public sermons I then heard, all of which were more legal than evangelical, and the preachers rather sent the congregation for life to Moses than to Christ. About the age of seventeen, I began to learn psalmody, and for the space of more than ten years, I became extravagantly fond of all kinds of music; so that my affections were entirely captivated thereby, and in a great measure alienated from God; yet all that time the good spirit of God never left off striving with me, (if I may be allowed that expression) so that at certain seasons I was greatly distressed, and wished 'it were with me as in months past.' Sometimes (to use the hyberbolical phrase of the Psalmist) 'I made my bed to swim, and watered my couch with tears,' purposed and resolved to resume my former course of life, and relinquish the idol of my soul. About this time it pleased that God, whose eyes are ever upon the objects of his everlasting love, to favour me with an opportunity of hearing the gospel; and the spirit of God so opened my heart to attend to the things that were spoken, and shed such light on my understanding, that when I returned home, and began to read my Bible, it seemed to be quite another book, in respect to its doctrines, and the method of salvation published in it, than what I had till that time conceived it to be. From that memorable day the Lord was pleased to break my chain, and loose the bonds of my captivity, so that I could say with holy David, "My soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken, and I am escaped." My heart was now exceedingly rejoiced, and I again renewed my former resolutions of engaging my heart with God, and devoting my life to his service. And my gracious Redeemer was pleased to

being ever intent upon some praise-worthy design, and zealous in the accomplishment of it; redeeming the time

say "Amen" to my purposes and prayers, and bade me, with an efficacious word, take hold on his strength, which his good spirit enabling me to do, I was filled with joy and peace in believing. I no longer felt that narrowness of spirit, which I was under the power of before, nor thought salvation confined to name or party. I found that in Christ Jesus, it availed nothing what a man had been before his conversion, whether Greek or Jew, nor what modes of worship he afterwards preferred, seeing Christ is all and in all to them that believe in him. Since that happy period, although my backslidings and departures from God have been more than I can enumerate, and what I blush to mention, yet my dear Redeemer, glory be to his name! having bought me at so dear a rate, and according to the greatness of that love, wherewith he loved me, would not, could not (for his tender heart forbad it,) forsake or cast me off."

From the above account it may be gathered, that about the year 1746 or 1747, he was first brought to a true knowledge of God, and of himself: soon after which it pleased the Lord to introduce him to public notice. As that part of his life, which preceded the above period, is rather involved in obscurity, we may conclude there could be nothing in it very interesting. He was always diligent in his business, and his morality was above the common standard; notwithstanding, as he afterwards acknowledged, he was living 'without God and without Christ in the world." Deeply convinced of the inestimable value of his own soul, he immediately became desirous of being an instrument in the hand of God of saving the souls of others. After much prayer and deliberation on this important matter, he ventured at length to go forth in the strength of the Lord, and to proclaim that Jesus came to save sinners. This was in the year 1749, for in a manuscript written with the trembling hand of infirmity in the year 1792, he mentions that he had been *forty-three* years engaged in publishing the precious truths of the gospel. His first labours, it is well known, were among the Methodists in Mr. Wesley's connexion; and having opportunities of preaching in various parts of the kingdom, he became signally and extensively useful. Many *old disciples* in that connexion remember his name to this day with affection and gratitude.

Having laboured for some years in Mr. Wesley's connexion, he found that he could no longer publicly insist upon certain points of doctrine maintained by that people. This occasioned some struggle in his mind, as to the propriety of his continuance in that connexion, or separation from it. But after much delibe-

by repeated acts of piety and benevolence, which characterize the worthy man and christian; having a heart

ration, and earnest prayer, a separation appeared most eligible, and he determined peaceably to withdraw. This event took place about the spring of the year 1762. For a short season his mind was perplexed; not that he doubted his call to preach the gospel, but being unable to perceive to whom his future labours should be directed. The providence of God, however, soon delivered him from this embarrassment. A few faithful friends, to whom he had been useful, still adhered to him; and to them he continued to preach as opportunity permitted. These being soon increased by the addition of others, a scheme was suggested of erecting a house, in which they might more regularly assemble together. This plan was immediately adopted; but fresh difficulties occurred, as the parties concerned had no resources within themselves, equal to such an undertaking. But they were soon taught that the word of God is not bound, and that the Lord has the hearts of all men at his disposal. Such liberal contributions were obtained, as enabled them to accomplish their design. A house was erected, and a church formed on the independent, or congregational plan, of which Mr. Knight was ordained Pastor, in the summer of 1763. This was a Bethel indeed. The word delivered within these walls was made effectual to the turning of many from the error of their ways, and to the building up of the people of God in their most holy faith. The congregation continually increasing, it soon became necessary to erect a gallery, as large as the building would admit. Here he laboured with much assiduity and zeal, preaching twice on the Lord's-day in the winter season, and three times in the summer, and giving a lecture on every Thursday evening throughout the year. He administered the Lord's supper regularly every month; and on the Friday evening preceding the celebration of it, he met the members of his church, and delivered an address suited to the approaching solemnity.

He established among his people several little societies, which assembled once a week, for the purpose of prayer and religious conversation. One of these societies met at his own house; and the rest he attended occasionally, as opportunity permitted.

By the divine blessing on his public and private labours, the number of those who attended the preaching of the word became so great, that a larger and more commodious house was necessary for their reception. This was for some time considered as a thing rather desirable than attainable. At length, however, it was cordially set about, and a very spacious and elegant structure completed, which was opened in May 1772. Here he exercised his public ministrations to very large congregations, till it pleased the Lord to incapacitate him for public service; and, to use his

constantly flowing with ardent love for the souls of men, and especially a fervent desire to glorify God, accom-

own expression, to reduce him from a *working* to a *waiting* servant.

About the year 1764, his acquaintance with Mr. Whitefield commenced, which, under God, was the means of extending his usefulness very considerably. For being invited by Mr. Whitefield to his pulpits, and his preaching being approved, he afterwards became one of the assistant preachers, and spent two months every year in preaching at the Tabernacle, Tottenham-Court Chapel, Greenwich, Woolwich, and other places in the same connexion.

Mr. Knight had uniformly enjoyed a remarkably good state of health, till it pleased God to afflict him with a paralytic stroke, in the month of June 1790. In a short time he was so far recovered, that he resumed his usual labours. But his mental faculties, especially his memory, had evidently sustained an injury. Of this he was himself very sensible, but bore the affliction with a truly christian submission.

In the year 1791, he undertook his annual journey to London, but with a determination to preach more sparingly than usual. While in town, he was afflicted with a second paralytic stroke, which affected his understanding far more than the former. With great difficulty he returned to Halifax; and though, in a measure, he recovered from this stroke likewise, and afterwards preached several sermons, yet it left him so debilitated, that he was incapable of continuing his public services: and having preached, for the last time, on the 18th of September 1791, from the convictions of his own mind, and the persuasions of his friends, he resigned the charge of his congregation.

His patient submission to the divine will, was an instructive lecture to those who were around him. When he reflected on the decay of his mental faculties, he would sometimes say, "What an idiot I am become!" but immediately would add, "But no wrong is done to me. He that gave my faculties, has a right to take them away whenever he pleases, and he might justly have done so forty years ago." Being asked by one of his sons, concerning the feelings of his mind, he replied, "I am happy on two considerations; the one is, that I am not in hell; the other, that I am not afraid of ever going there." At another time, when several of his family were together, the subject of politics was introduced, and something mentioned respecting the probability of the king of France losing his crown; upon which he observed, though scarce able to understand the subject of conversation, "I know a King who will not lose his crown, I mean King Jesus. He reigns, and ever will reign;" and with a flood of tears he added, "To him I wish you every one to submit."

panied by the deepest humility and self-abasement; Mr. Whitefield, in these thirty-four years, may be said to have lived more than most men would do, though their lives were prolonged for many ages.

CHAP. XX.

A Description of his Person; A Review of his Life; and the most Striking Parts of his Character pointed out.

AS the greater part of my readers, perhaps, never saw Mr. Whitefield, a description of his PERSON, a Review of his LIFE, and a display of THE MOST STRIKING TRAITS IN HIS CHARACTER, cannot but be acceptable.

His person was graceful, and well proportioned: his stature rather above the middle size. His complexion was very fair. His eyes were of a dark blue colour, and small, but sprightly; he had a squint with one of

His sight at length so failed, that he could neither read nor write; and his understanding and memory continuing to be impaired, he began to long for the hour of his dissolution. However, he seemed greatly afraid lest his desire to depart and to be with Christ, should betray him into impatience. After breathing, rather than living, for some months, he was on Saturday morning, March 2d. 1793, mercifully released from the burden of the flesh, and removed to a better and indissoluble mansion, in the 74th year of his age.

O much-respected, much-lamented friend,
Thy life was holy,—happy was thine end!
By saints esteem'd, and e'en by sinners blest,
And best belov'd by those who knew thee best!
In thee the Saviour's image clearly shone,
As chrystal lakes reflect the orient sun.
The wonders Grace divine perform'd in thee,
Such, and superior, may it work in me!

them, occasioned either by the ignorance, or the carelessness of the nurse who attended him in the measles, when he was about four years old. His features were in general good and regular. His countenance was manly, and his voice exceeding strong; yet both were softened with an uncommon degree of sweetness. He was always very clean and neat; and often said, pleasantly, "that a minister of the gospel ought to be without spot." His deportment was decent and easy, without the least stiffness or formality; and his engaging, polite manner, made his company universally agreeable. In his youth he was very slender, and moved his body with great agility to action, suitable to his discourse; but about the fortieth year of his age he began to grow corpulent, which, however, was solely the effect of his disease, being always, even to a proverb, remarkable for his moderation, both in eating and drinking.

In reviewing the life of this extraordinary man, the following particulars appear very remarkable.

First—We are struck with his unwearied diligence in the offices of religion, and his conscientious improvement of every portion of his time. Early in the morning he rose to his Master's work, and all the day long was employed in a continual succession of different duties. Take a view of his public conduct—here he is engaged either in preaching the gospel, in visiting and giving counsel to the afflicted, in instructing the ignorant, or in celebrating the praises of God. Observe his behaviour in private company—there you hear him introducing, upon all occasions, and among all sorts of people, discourse that tended to edification. And if you follow him to his retirements, you see him writing devout meditations upon the occurrences of the day, or letters to his christian acquaintance full of piety and zeal. What a gloomy idea must a stranger to vital piety entertain of a life spent in this manner! He will think it

must have been not only joyless and disgusting, but intolerably burthensome. Far otherwise did it appear in the experience of this servant of Christ. He felt the greatest enjoyment when engaged in a constant round of social and religious duties. In these whole weeks passed away like one day. And when he was visited with any distress or affliction, preaching, as he tells us himself, was his catholicon, and prayer his antidote against every trial. The pleasure of a man of business, in successfully pushing his trade, or of a philosopher, when pursuing his favourite studies, may give us some faint conception of the joys which he felt. Yet so ardent were his desires after the heavenly happiness, that he often longed to finish his work, and to go home to his Saviour. "Blessed be God," says he, "the prospect of Death is pleasant to my soul. I would not live here always. I want to be gone. Sometimes it arises from a fear of falling. Sometimes from a prospect of future labours and sufferings. But these are times when my soul hath such foretastes of God, that I long more eagerly to be with Him; and the prospect of the happiness which the spirits of just men made perfect, now enjoy, often carries me, as it were, into another world."*

Again, we are justly surprized at his frequent and fervent preaching, under all the disadvantages of a sickly constitution, and the many fits of illness with which he was suddenly seized. It must, indeed, be confessed, that change of air, frequent travelling on horseback, and the many voyages he made, might contribute to the preservation of his health and vigour: but when we consider what exertion of voice was necessary to reach his large congregations; that he preached generally twice or thrice every day, and often four

* Letter 248.

times on the Lord's-day; but above all, what waste of strength and spirits every sermon must have cost him, through the earnestness of his delivery, it is truly astonishing, how his constitution could hold out so long. He says, "I preach till I sweat through and through."* But there is another circumstance not less remarkable than either of the former; which is, the uncommon desire that all sorts of people expressed to attend his preaching, and that not upon the first or second visit only, but at every succeeding opportunity. Wherever he went, prodigious numbers flocked to hear him. His congregations often consisted of about four or five thousand; in populous places they swelled to ten thousand; sometimes fourteen thousand; and upon some occasions, the concourse was so great, that they have been computed to be from twenty to thirty thousand.

It is wonderful to think, how he commanded the attention of such multitudes; with what composure they listened when he began to speak; how they hung upon his lips, and were often dissolved in tears: and this was the case with persons of the most hardy and rugged, as well as those of the softer tempers.

His eloquence was indeed very great, and of the truest kind. He was utterly devoid of all appearance of affectation. He seemed to be quite unconscious of the talents he possessed. The importance of his subject, and the regard due to his hearers, engrossed all his concern. He spoke like one who did not seek their applause, but was concerned for their best interests; and who, from a principle of unfeigned love, earnestly endeavoured to lead them in the right way. And the effect, in some measure, corresponded to the design. They did not amuse themselves with commending his

* Letter 46.

discourses; but being moved and persuaded by what he said, entered into his views, felt his passions, and were willing for the time, at least, to comply with all his requests. This was especially remarkable at his charity sermons. When the most worldly-minded were made to part with their money in so generous a manner, that when they returned to their former temper, they were ready to think that it had been conjured from them by some inexplicable charm. The charm, however, was nothing else but the power of his irresistible eloquence; in which respect, it is not easy to say, whether he was ever excelled either in ancient or modern times.

He had a strong and musical voice, and a wonderful command of it. His pronunciation was not only proper, but manly and graceful. Nor was he ever at a loss for the most natural and strong expressions. Yet, these in him were but lower qualities.

The grand sources of his eloquence were an exceeding lively imagination, which made people think they saw what he described; an action still more lively, if possible, by which, while every accent of his voice spoke to the ear, every feature of his face, every motion of his hands, and every gesture, spoke to the eye; so that the most dissipated and thoughtless found their attention involuntarily fixed, and the dullest and most ignorant could not but understand. He had likewise a certain elevation of mind, which raised him equally above praise and censure, and added great authority to whatever he said. The natural language of this christian fortitude, we have in one of his letters—"the Lord only knows how he will be pleased to dispose of me—great afflictions I am sure of having—and a sudden death, blessed be God, will not be terrible—I know that my Redeemer liveth. I every day long to see him, that I may be free

from the remainder of sin, and enjoy him without interruption for ever."*

But what was, perhaps, the most important of all, he had a heart deeply exercised in all the social, as well as the pious and religious affections, and was at the same time most remarkably communicative, by which means he was peculiarly fitted to awaken like feelings in others, and to sympathize with every one that had them.

This last, some have thought was the distinguishing part of his character. It was certainly, however, an eminent part of it. In his journals and letters, an impartial reader will find instances thereof almost in every page; such as, lively gratitude to God in the first place, and to all whom God had used as instruments of good to him—sincere love in dealing so plainly with his correspondents about the interests of their souls—frequent and particular intercession for his friends, his enemies, and all mankind—great delight in the society of christian acquaintances—many very sorrowful partings, and joyful meetings with his friends—tender-heartedness to the afflicted—the pleasure in procuring and administering a seasonable supply to the indigent—and condescension to people of the lowest rank, to instruct and converse with them for their good, in as kind and sociable a manner as if he had been their brother or intimate friend. These are manifest proofs that he had a heart easily susceptible of every humane, tender, and compassionate feeling. And this was certainly a great mean of enabling him so strongly to affect the hearts of others.

Had his natural talents for oratory been employed in secular affairs, and been somewhat more improved by the refinements of art, and the embellishments of eru-

* Letter 283.

dition, it is probable they would soon have advanced him to distinguished wealth and renown. But his sole ambition was to serve a crucified Saviour, in the ministry of the gospel. And being early convinced of the great hurt that has been done to christianity, by a bigoted spirit, he insisted not upon the peculiar tenets of a party; "for," says he, in one of his letters, "I love all that love our Lord Jesus Christ."* In another, "Oh! how do I long to see bigotry and party zeal taken away and all the Lord's servants more knit together!"† Again, "I wish all names among the saints of God, were swallowed up in that one of CHRISTIAN!"‡ But upon the universally interesting doctrines of holy scripture, concerning the ruin of mankind by sin, and their recovery by divine grace; doctrines, the truth of which, he himself had deeply felt—to make men sensible of the misery of their alienation from God, and of the necessity of justification by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ—of regeneration by the Holy Spirit—and of a life of devotedness to God, was the principal aim of all his discourses. "The only methodism, I desire to know," says he, "is a holy method of dying to ourselves, and living to God."‖ By this description, he was far from intending to confine true religion to the exercises of devotion. By "living to God," he meant a constant endeavour after conformity to the divine will in all things. "For," says he, in another place, "it is a great mistake to suppose religion consists only in saying our prayers. Every christian lies under a necessity to have some particular calling, whereby he may be a useful member of the society to which he belongs. A

* Letter 58.
† Letter 68.
‡ Letter 120.
‖ Preface to the Journals, in the edition of 1756.

man is no farther holy, than he is relatively holy: and he only will adorn the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in all things, who is careful to perform all the civil offices of life, with a single eye to God's glory, and from a principle of lively faith in Jesus Christ our Saviour. This is the morality which we preach."* He used also to give this definition of true religion, "That it is a universal morality founded upon the love of God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ." Licentiousness and luxury, and all sorts of time wasting and dissipating amusements, how fashionable soever, he constantly inveighed against. These were the topics on which he employed his eloquence.

But not to dwell any longer on his accomplishments, as an orator, and the excellent purposes to which, through the grace of God, he devoted them; one thing remains to be mentioned, of an infinitely higher order than any human powers whatever: and that is, the power of God, which so remarkably accompanied the labours of his servant, and without which, both scripture and experience teach us, that all external means, however excellent, are ineffectual and vain. It is here Mr. Whitefield is much to be envied, were it lawful to envy any man. When we consider the multitudes that were not only awakened, but brought under lasting religious impressions by his ministry! and the multitudes that were wrought upon in the same manner by the ministry of others, excited by his example, both in Great Britain and America,† we are naturally led into the same sentiments with Mr. Wesley, in his funeral sermon—"What an honour hath it pleased God to put upon his faithful servant! Have we read or heard of

* Journals, May 1739.

† See Hist. Col. of the Success of the Gospel. Vol ii.

any person since the apostles, who testified the gospel of the grace of God, through so widely extended a space, through so large a part of the habitable world? Have we read, or heard of any person, who called so many thousands, so many myriads of sinners to repentance? Above all, have we read, or heard of any, who has been a blessed instrument in his hand, of bringing so many sinners from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God?"

And he was enabled, as Mr. Wesley says of him, in the following lines, to

"Stand as an iron pillar strong,
"And steadfast as a wall of brass."

This excellent character, joined to talents so extraordinary, and to labours, which God was pleased to bless with almost unequalled success, was shaded with some infirmities. And what else could be expected in the present condition of humanity? These have been sufficiently laid open in the preceding narrative of his life. And it ought to be observed, that as there was something very amiable in the frankness and unreservedness which prevented his concealing them; so through his openness to conviction, his teachableness to confess and correct his mistakes, they became still fewer and smaller, and decreased continually as he advanced in knowledge and experience.

In his letters, we find the following remarkable passages---"May God reward you for watching over my soul. It is difficult, I believe to go through the fiery trial of popularity and applause, untainted.* When I am unwilling to be told of my faults, correspond with me no more. If I know any thing of my heart, I love those most who are most faithful to me in this respect,

* Letter 61.

Henceforward, dear sir, I beseech you, by the mercies of God in Christ Jesus, spare me not.* We must be helps to each other on this side eternity. Nothing gives me more comfort, next to the assurance of the eternal continuance of God's love, than the pleasing reflection of having so many christian friends to watch with my soul. I wish they would smite me friendly, and reprove me oftener than they do.† I rejoice that you begin to know yourself. If possible, Satan will make us think more highly of ourselves than we ought to think. I can tell this by fatal experience. It is not sudden flashes of joy, but having the humility of Jesus Christ, that must denominate us christians. If we hate reproof, we are so far from being true followers of the Lamb of God, that in the opinion of the wisest of men we are brutish.‡ O my dear brother, still continue faithful to my soul---do not hate me in your heart---in any wise reprove me.‖ You need make no apology for your plain dealing. I love those best, who deal most sincerely with me. Whatever errors I have been, or shall be guilty of in my ministry, I hope the Lord will shew me, and give me grace to amend."§

It would be unjust to his memory not to take notice upon this occasion of that uniformity of sentiment, which runs through all his sermons and writings, after he was thoroughly enlightened in the truth. Indeed, when he first set out in the ministry, his youth and inexperience led him into many expressions which were contrary to sound doctrine, and which made many of the sermons he first printed, justly exceptionable: but reading, experience, and a deeper knowledge of his own

* Letter 85.
† Letter 103.
‡ Letter 112.
‖ Letter 204.
§ Letters 298 and 640.

heart, convinced him of his errors, and upon all occasions he avowed his belief of the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, and the standards of the church of Scotland, as expressly founded on the word of God. He loved his friend, but he would not part with a grain of sacred truth for the brother of his heart. Thus we see him constrained to write and print against the Arminian tenets of Mr. John Wesley, whom he loved in the bowels of Christ. And it appears from several other tracts in his works, that he neglected no opportunity of stepping forth as a bold champion, in defence of that faith which was once delivered to the saints.

Mr. Whitefield being dead, the Rev. Mr. Parsons preached a funeral sermon, the same day, from Philippians i. 21. "To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." Early next morning Mr. Sherburne, of Portsmouth sent Squire Clarkson and Dr. Haven, with a message to Mr. Parsons, desiring Mr. Whitefield's remains might be buried in his own new tomb, at his own expence; and in the evening several gentlemen from Boston, came to Mr. Parsons, desiring the body might be carried there. But as Mr. Whitefield, had repeatedly desired he might be buried before Mr. Parson's pulpit, if he died at Newbury Port, Mr. Parsons thought himself obliged to deu yboth of their requests.

The following account of his interment is subjoined to this sermon, viz:---October 2, 1770. At one o'clock all the bells in the town were tolled for an hour, and all the vessels in the harbour gave their proper signals of mourning. At two o'clock, the bells tolled a second time. At three the bells called to attend the funeral. The Rev. Dr. Haven, of Portsmouth, the Rev. Messrs. Daniel Rogers, of Exeter, Jedediah Jewet, and James Chandler, of Rowley, Moses Parsons, of Newbury, and Edward Bass, of Newbury Port, were pall bearers. The procession was from the Rev. Mr. Parsons's, of

Newbury Port, where Mr. Whitefield died. Mr. Parsons and his family, together with many other respectable persons, followed the corpse in mourning. The procession was only one mile, and then the corpse was carried into the presbyterian church, and placed on the bier in the broad aisle, when the Rev. Mr. Rogers made a very suitable prayer in the presence of about six thousand persons, within the walls of the church, while many thousands were on the outside, not being able to find admittance. Then the following Hymn of Dr. Watts's was sung by the congregation---

1 Why do we mourn departing friends?
Or shake at death's alarms?
'Tis but the voice that Jesus sends
To call them to his arms.

2 Are we not tending upward too,
As fast as time can move?
Nor should we wish the hours more slow,
To keep us from our love.

3 Why should we tremble to convey
Their bodies to the tomb?
There the dear flesh of Jesus lay,
And left a long perfume.

4 The graves of all his saints he bless'd,
And soft'ned ev'ry bed:
Where should the dying members rest,
But with their dying Head?

5 Thence he arose, ascending high,
And shew'd our feet the way:
Up to the Lord our flesh shall fly,
At the great rising day.

6 Then let the last loud trumpet sound,
And bid our kindred rise:
Awake, ye nations under ground;
Ye saints, ascend the skies.

The following Epitaph, in memory of Mr. Whitefield, was composed by the Rev. Thomas Gibbons.

In Reverendum Virum
GEORGIUM WHITEFIELD,
Laboribus sacris olim abundantem; nunc vero, ut bene speratur cœlestem et immortalem vitam cum Christo agentem,
EPITAPHIM,
(Auctore THOMAS GIBBONS, S.T.P.)

Electum et divinum vas, Whitefield, suisti
Ingenio pollens, divitüsque sacris:
His opibus populo longè latèque tributês,
Tandem perfruers lœticiâ superum
Inque hanc intrâsti, Domino plaudente ministrum:
Expertum in multis, assiduumque bonum:
Ecce mea portus, et clara palatia cœli
Delicis plenis omnia aperta tibi.
Dum matutinam Stellam, quam dulce rubentem!
Vivificos roresque ossa sepulta manent.

—o—

TRANSLATION.

A vessel chosenand divine, replete
With nature's gifts, and grace's richer stores,
Thou WHITEFIELD wast: these thro' the world dispens'd,
In long laborious travels, thou at length
Hast reach'd the realms of rest, to which thy Lord
Has welcom'd thee with his immense applause.
All hail, my servant, in thy various trusts
Found vigilant and faithful, see the ports,
See the eternal kingdoms of the skies,
With all their boundless glory, boundless joy
Open'd for thy reception, and thy bliss.
Mean time, the body in its peaceful cell
Reposing from its toils, awaits the star,
Whose living lustres lead that promis'd morn,
Whose vivifying dews thy moulder'd corse
Shall visit, and immortal life inspire.

of sabbaths; that his zeal for Christ was extraordinary; and yet he recommended himself to his many thousand hearers by his engagedness for holiness and souls.' I soon had opportunity to observe, that wherever he flew, like a flame of fire, his ministry gave a general alarm to all sorts of people, though before they had, for a long time, been amazingly sunk into dead formality. It was then a time, in New England, that real christians generally had slackened their zeal for Christ, and fallen into a remiss and careless frame of spirit; and hypocritical professors were sunk into a deep sleep of carnal security. Ministers, and their congregations seemed to be at ease. But his preaching appeared to be from the heart, though too many, who spake the same things, preached as if it were indifferent, whether they were received or rejected. We were convinced that he believed the message he brought us, to be of the last importance. Nevertheless, as soon as there was time for reflexion, the enemies of Christ began to cavil, and hold up some of his sallies, as if they were unpardonable faults. By such means he met with a storm as tempestuous as the troubled sea, that casts up mire and dirt. Some of every station were too fond of their old way of formality, to part with it, for such a despised cause as living religion. But the Spirit of Christ set home the message of the Lord upon the consciences of some, and shook them off from their false hopes: but many began to find fault, and some to write against his evangelizing through the country, while others threatened fire-brands, arrows and death. Yet God gave room for his intense zeal to operate, and fit objects appeared, wherever he went, to engage him in preaching Christ and him crucified.

"In his repeated visits to America, when his services had almost exhausted his animal spirits, and his friends were ready to cry, 'Spare thyself,' his hope of serving

Christ, and winning souls to him, animated and engaged him to run almost any risque. Neither did he ever cross the Atlantic, on an itinerating visitation, without visiting his numerous brethren here, to see how religion prospered amongst them; and we know that his labours have been unwearied among us, and to the applause of all his hearers; and, through the infinite mercy of God, his labours have sometimes been crowned with great success, in the conversion of sinners, and the edification of saints. And though he often returned from the pulpit very feeble after public preaching, yet his engaging sweetness of conversation, changed the suspicions of many, into passionate love and friendship.

"In many things, his example is worthy of imitation; and if in any thing he exceeded, or came short, his integrity, zeal for God, and love to Christ and his gospel, rendered him, in extensive usefulness, more than equal to any of his brethren. In preaching here, and through most parts of America, he has been in labours more abundant, approving himself a minister of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in watchings, in fastings, by pureness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as having nothing, yet possessing all things. And God that comforteth those that are cast down, has often comforted us by his coming; and not by his coming only, but by the consolation wherewith he was comforted in us, so that we could rejoice the more.

"His popularity exceeded all that ever I knew; and though the asthma was sometimes an obstruction to him, his delivery and entertaining method was so inviting to the last, that it would command the attention of the vast multitudes of his hearers. An apprehension of his concern to serve the Lord Jesus Christ, and do good to the souls of men, drew many thousands after him, who never embraced the doctrines he taught. He had some-

thing so peculiar in his manner, expressive of sincerity in all he delivered, that it constrained the most abandoned to think, he believed what he said was not only true, but of the last importance to souls; and by adapted texts adduced, and instances of the grace of God related agreeable thereto, often surprized his most judicious hearers.

"His labours extended not only to New England, and many other colonies in British America, but were eminent and more abundant in Great Britain. Many thousands at his Chapel and Tabernacle, and in other places, were witnesses that he faithfully endeavoured to restore the interesting doctrines of the Reformation, and the purity of the church to its primitive glory. Some among the learned, some of the mighty and noble have been called by his ministry, to testify for the gospel of the grace of God. The force of his reasonings against corrupt principles, and the easy method he had in exposing the danger of them, have astonished the most that heard him, in all places where he preached. How did he lament and withstand the modern unscriptural notions of religion and salvation, that were palmed upon the churches of every denomination! The affecting change from primitive purity to fatal heresy, together with the sad effects of it in mere formality and open wickedness, would often make him cry, as the prophet did in another case—'How is the gold become dim, and the most fine gold changed! How hath the Lord covered the daughter of Zion with a cloud in his anger, and cast down from heaven to earth the beauty of Israel.'

"It is no wonder that this man of God should meet with enemies and with great opposition to his ministry—for hell trembled before him. It is no more than may be always expected of the Devil, that he should stir up his servants, to load the most eminent ministers of Christ with calumny and most impudent lies; and re-

present them as the filth and off-scouring of all things. All this may be, and often has been done, under a pretence of great concern for the honour of Christ, and the preservation of gospel order. When Satan totters and begins to fall, he can find men enough to cry, 'the church is in danger;' and that he knows is sufficient with many, to hide his cloven foot, and make him appear as an angel of light.

"Through a variety of such labours and trials, our worthy friend, and extensively useful servant of Christ, Mr. Whitefield, passed both in England and America: but the Lord was his sun to guide and animate him, and his shield to defend and help him unto the end: neither did he count his own life dear, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry that he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.

"The last sermon that he preached, though under the disadvantage of a stage in the open air, was delivered with such clearness, pathos, and eloquence, as to please and surprise the surrounding thousands. And as he had been confirmed by the grace of God, many years before, and had been waiting and hoping for his last change, he then declared, that he hoped it was the last time he should ever preach. Doubtless, he then had such clear views of the blessedness of open vision, and the complete fruition of God in Christ, that he felt the pleasures of heaven in his raptured soul, which made his countenance shine like the unclouded sun."

The following lines are part of a poem on Mr. Whitefield, written by a negro servant girl, seventeen years of age, belonging to Mr. J. Wheatley, of Boston.

"He pray'd that grace in every heart might dwell,
He long'd to see America excel;
He charg'd its youth to let the grace divine
Arise, and in their future actions shine.

He offer'd that he did himself receive,
A greater gift not God himself can give.
He urg'd the need of Him to ev'ry one;
It was no less than God's co-equal Son.
Take Him ye wretched for your only good;
Take Him ye starving souls to be your food.
Ye thirsty, come to this life-giving stream;
Ye preachers, take Him for your joyful theme.
Take Him, my dear Americans, he said,
Be your complaints in his kind bosom laid.
Take Him, ye Africans, he longs for you;
Impartial Saviour is his title due.
If you will choose to walk in grace's road,
You shall be sons, and kings, and priests, to God.
Great Countess! we Americans revere
Thy name, and thus condole thy grief sincere.
New England, sure doth feel; the orphan's smart
Reveals the true sensations of his heart.
His lonely Tabernacle sees no more
A Whitefield landing on the British shore.
Then let us view him in yon azure skies,
Let ev'ry mind with this lov'd object rise.
Thou tomb, shall safe retain thy sacred trust,
'Till life divine re-animates his dust."

The next sermon was preached by Dr. Pemberton, of Boston, October 11, 1770, upon 1 Peter i. 4. "*To an inheritance reserved in heaven for you.*"—In which he says:—

"I am not fond of funeral panegyrics. But where persons have been distinguishingly honoured by heaven, and employed to do uncommon services for God's church upon earth, it would be criminal ingratitude to suffer them to drop into the dust without the most respectful notice. The memory of the just is blessed! Posterity will view Mr. Whitefield, in many respects, as one of the most extraordinary characters of the present age. His zealous, incessant, and successful labours, in Europe and America, are without a parallel.

"Devoted early to God, he took orders as soon as the constitution of the established church in England allowed. His first appearance in the work of the ministry was

attended with surprizing success. The largest churches in London were not able to contain the numbers that perpetually flocked to hear his awakening discourses. The crowds daily increased. He was soon forced into the fields, followed by multitudes, who hung with silent attention upon his lips, and with avidity received the word of life. The Spirit of God in an uncommon measure, descended upon the hearers. The secure were awakened to a salutary fear of divine wrath, and enquiring minds were directed to Jesus, the only Saviour of a revolted world—the vicious were visibly reclaimed; and those who had hitherto rested in a form of godliness, were made acquainted with the power of a divine life. The people of God were refreshed with the consolation of the blessed Spirit, and rejoiced to see their exalted Master, going on from conquering to conquer, and sinners of all orders and characters, bowing to the sceptre of a crucified Saviour.

"His zeal could not be confined within the British islands. His ardent desire for the welfare of immortal souls, conveyed him to the distant shores of America. We beheld a new star arise in the hemisphere of these western churches; and its salutary influences were diffused through a great part of the British settlements in these remote regions. We heard with pleasure, from a divine of the episcopal communion, those great doctrines of the gospel, which our venerable ancestors brought with them from their native country. With a soul elevated above a fond attachment to forms and ceremonies, he inculcated that pure and unadulterated religion, for the preservation of which our fathers banished themselves into an uncultivated desert. In his repeated progresses through the colonies, he was favoured with the same success which attended him on the other side of the Atlantic. He preached from day to day in thronged assemblies; yet his hearers never discovered

the least weariness, but always followed him with increasing ardour. When in the pulpit, every eye was fixed upon his expressive countenance; every ear was charmed with his melodious voice; all sorts of persons were captivated with the propriety and beauty of his address.

"But it is not the fine speaker, the accomplished orator, that we are to celebrate from the sacred desk: these engaging qualities, if not sanctified by divine grace, and consecrated to the service of heaven, are as the sounding brass, and the tinkling cymbal. When mis-improved, instead of conveying happiness to mankind, they render us more illustriously miserable.

"The gifts of nature, the acquisitions of art, which adorned the character of Mr. Whitefield, were devoted to the honour of God, and the enlargement of the kingdom of our divine Redeemer. While he preached the gospel, the Holy Ghost was sent down to apply it to the consciences of the hearers; the eyes of the blind were opened, to behold the glories of the compassionate Saviour; the ears of the deaf were unstopped, to attend to the invitations of incarnate love; the dead were animated with a divine principle of life; many in all parts of the land were turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.

"These doctrines which we had been instructed in from our infancy by our faithful pastors, seemed to acquire new force, and were attended with uncommon success when delivered by him. His discourses were not trifling speculations, but contained the most interesting truths; they were not an empty play of wit, but solemn addresses to the hearts of men.

"To convince sinners that they were by nature children of wrath; by practice, transgressors of the divine law; and in consequence of this, exposed to the vengeance of offended heaven; to display the transcen-

dent excellency of a Saviour, and persuade awakened minds to confide in his merits and righteousness, as the only hopes of a guilty world; to impress upon the professors of the gospel the necessity, not only of an outward reformation, but an internal change, by the powerful influences of the Spirit; to lead the faithful to a zealous practice of the various duties of the christian life, that they may evidence the sincerity of their faith, and adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour. These were the reigning subjects of his pulpit discourses.

"He was no contracted bigot, but embraced christians of every denomination in the arms of his charity, and acknowledged them to be children of the same father, servants of the same master, heirs of the same undefiled inheritance.

"That I am not complimenting the dead, but speaking the words of truth and soberness, I am persuaded I have many witnesses in this assembly.

"He was always received by multitudes with pleasure, when he favoured these parts with his labours; but he never had a more obliging reception than in his last visit. Men of the first distinction in the province, not only attended his ministry, but gave him the highest marks of their respect. With what faithfulness did he declare unto us the whole counsel of God? With what solemnity did he reprove us for our increasing degeneracy? With what zeal did he exhort us, to remember from whence we were fallen, and repent and do our first works, lest God should come and remove our candlestick out of its place?

"Animated with a God-like design of promoting the temporal and spiritual happiness of mankind, after the example of his divine Master, he went about doing good. In this he persevered with unremitting ardour and assiduity, till death removed him to that rest which remains

for the people of God. Perhaps no man, since the apostolic age, preached oftener or with greater success.

" If we view his private character, he will appear in a most amiable point of light. The polite gentleman; the faithful friend; the engaging companion: above all, the sincere christian, were visible in the whole of his deportment.

" With large opportunities of accumulating wealth, he never discovered the least tincture of avarice. What he received from the kindness of his friends, he generously employed in offices of piety and charity. His benevolent mind was perpetually forming plans of extensive usefulness. The orphan-house, which many years ago he erected in Georgia, and the college he was founding in that province, at the time of his death, will be lasting monuments of his care, that religion and learning might be propagated to future generations.

" I have not, my brethren, drawn an imaginary portrait, but described a character exhibited in real life. I have not mentioned his natural abilities, which were vastly above the common standard. I consider him principally in the light of a christian, and a minister of Jesus Christ, in which he shone with a superior lustre, as a star of the first magnitude.

" After all, I am not representing a perfect man; there are spots in the most shining characters upon earth. But this may be said of Mr. Whitefield with justice, that after the most public appearances, for above thirty years, and the most critical examination of his conduct, no other blemish could be fixed upon him, than what arose from the common frailties of human nature, and the peculiar circumstances which attended his first entrance into public life.

" The imprudencies of unexperienced youth, he frequently acknowledged from the pulpit, with a frankness which will for ever do honour to his memory. He took

care to prevent any bad consequences that might flow from his unguarded censures in the early days of his ministry. The longer he lived, the more he evidently increased in purity of doctrine, in humanity, in meekness, prudence, patience, and the other amiable virtues of the christian life."

Another funeral sermon on Mr. Whitefield, was preached by the Rev. Mr. Ellington, at Savannah, in Georgia, November 11, 1770, upon Hebrews xi. 26. "*Esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt: for he had respect unto the recompence of the reward.*" In which are the following passages :*

"The receiving the melancholy news of the much-lamented death of a particular friend to the province, a person who was once minister of this church, is the reason of this discourse; and my choice of this subject before us, is to pay my grateful respect to the memory of this well-known able minister of the New Testament, and faithful servant of the most high God, the Rev. George Whitefield, whose life was justly esteemed, and whose death will be greatly regretted, by the sincere

* Extract of a letter from the late Rev. Cornelius Winter, to the Rev. William Jay.

"You have no conception of the effect of Mr. Whitefield's death upon the inhabitants of the province of Georgia. All the black cloth in the stores was bought up; the pulpit and desks of the church, the branches, the organ loft, the pews of the governor and council were covered with black. The governor and council in deep mourning, convened at the state-house, and went in procession to church, and were received by the organ playing a funeral dirge. Two funeral sermons were preached, one by the Rev. Mr. Ellington; the other by the Rev. Mr. Zubly. *See Memoirs of the Rev. Cornelius Winter*, Letter xi. p. 104.

The same public marks of regard were shown at one of the churches in Philadelphia, of which Mr. Sproutt is pastor, which, by the desire of the session and committee was put in mourning. Also, at their desire and expence, the bells of Christ Church, in that city, were rung muffled.

religious part of mankind of all denominations, as long as there is one remaining on earth, who knew him, to recollect the fervour of spirit, and holy zeal with which he spake, when preaching the everlasting gospel; and every other part of his disinterested conduct, consistent with the ministerial character, in life and conversation. Mr. Whitefield's works praise him loud enough. I am not able to say any thing that can add greater lustre to them. May every one that ministers in holy things, and all who partake of their ministrations, have equal right to the characteristic in the text as he had.

"It is the ruling opinion of many, that the offence of the cross is long since ceased; and that whatever evil treatment some of a singular turn may meet with, it is only the fruit of their own doings, and the reward of their own work, whereby they raise the resentment of mankind against them for uncharitable slander, and spiritual abuse. But whoever knoweth any thing of the gospel, and hath experienced it to be the power of God unto salvation, knoweth this is the language of persons who are unacquainted with the depravity of their nature; and through the degeneracy of their hearts, are unwilling to be disturbed—therefore are saying to the ministers of Christ, prophecy unto us smooth things. But the ministers of the gospel are to be sons of thunder, and so to utter their voice, and conduct their lives, as to prove the nature of their work.

"Our dear and reverend friend was highly honoured for many years, in being a happy instrument to do this successfully. With what a holy zeal he proceeded, long before he was publicly ordained to the sacred office, has been long attested; and no person has been able to contradict the testimony. No sooner did he appear in the work of the sanctuary, but he soon convinced his numerous auditories, that his Almighty Lord, who had given him the commission, had by his grace wrought

him for the self-same thing; and through the Holy Spirit attending his endeavours, made him a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. One would think his great success in his public labours, the frequent opportunities he embraced of doing good, by the relief of people in distressing circumstances, every occasion he took to use his influence for the good of mankind, and the whole of his behaviour through a life of fifty-six years, being, so far as the frailty of our present state will admit, unblameable and unreproachable, should have exempted him from contempt and reproach. But, quite the contrary: there was so near a resemblance with his blessed Master, that obliged him to bear his reproach. He has suffered with him on earth, and he is now glorified with him in heaven. He has laboured abundantly, and he has been as liberally reproached and maligned from every quarter. Clergy and laity have wet their tongues like a sword against him, and bent their bows to shoot their arrows; but the Lord, amongst all, has known and approved his righteous servant. Though it is well known, he has had opportunity long since to enjoy episcopal emolument; yet, in his opinion, and it will be found he judged like a wise man in the end, sinners through his instrumentality, being turned unto the Lord, and becoming his joy and crown of rejoicing, in the day of our Lord Jesus, was esteemed a greater honour than any thing this world could afford him. His longing desire for the salvation of immortal souls, would not admit of his being confined within the district of any walls; though it must be acknowledged, he never thought of commencing field-preacher, till his invidious enemies refused him church pulpits, with indignation of spirit unbecoming the lowest and vulgar class of mankind, much less men professing themselves preachers of godliness. Though he has, throughout the whole course of his ministry, given sufficient proof of his in-

violable attachment to our happy establishment, he was desirous to countenance the image of Christ wherever he saw it, well knowing, that political institutions in any nation whatever, should not destroy the blessed union, or prevent the communion which ought to subsist throughout the holy catholic church, between real and sincere christians of all denominations. Some people may retain such a veneration for apostolic phrases, as to suppose they ought not to be applied to other persons. Sorry am I observe, that few deserve the application of them. But of Mr. Whitefield we may say, with the strictest truth, in journeyings often, in perils of water, in perils of robbers, in perils of his own countrymen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, he hath approved himself a minister of God. All who knew and were acquainted with him, soon discovered in him every mark of good sense and good manners. His company and conversation was so enlivening and entertaining, and at the same time so instructive and edifying, that no person with the least degree of common sense, could behave improperly in his presence. In him met, which do not often meet in one person, the finished and complete gentleman, and the real and true christian. Why then did he take pleasure in reproaches, and submit to the taunts and insults both of the vulgar and politer part of mankind? He had respect to the recompence of reward. Though the believer's work will never entitle him to a reward of debt, yet the reward of grace will always excite a holy desire to render something unto the Lord. What wilt thou have me to do? is the incessant enquiry of that soul, who by the merits of the Redeemer's death, and the virtue of his precious blood, is redeemed from sin, and made a partaker of the inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away. Faith operates by

good works: and let all the men of the world say to the contrary, or put ever so base a construction upon our doctrine, it will evidence itself by these good fruits. It was from these principles that Mr. Whitefield acted, and they were productive of the desired effect, not only in alms-giving, this was but a small matter, when compared with the happier and more important attempt which he made for the good of mankind, at the hazard of his life, and the expense of an unblemished character. How he has preached with showers of stones, and many other instruments of malice and revenge about his ears, many of his surviving friends can witness. But having the salvation of sinners at heart, and a great desire to rescue them from the power of eternal death, he resolved to spend and be spent for the service of precious and immortal souls; and spared no pains, and refused no labour, so that he might but administer to their real and eternal good. And glory be to our good God, he hath persevered and endured to the end of his life, having respect unto the recompence of the reward. Surely nothing else could support him under such a weight of care, and enable him, amidst it all, for so many years, to bear it with so much chearfulness. The worthy inhabitants of this province do not want my attestation, either to the loss the province has sustained, or to the desire he has had for its prosperity. His indefatigable endeavours to promote it, and the many fervent prayers he has night and day offered for it, speak loud enough. Happy omens we would hope in favour of it, both as to its temporal increase, and spiritual prosperity. May God raise up some useful men to supply his place, and carry on unto perfection what he hath so disinterestedly begun, that the institution he has founded in this province, may be of public utility to the latest posterity!

" As to his death, little more can be said of it, than has been communicated to the public already. He died like a hero, in the field of battle—he has been fighting the battles of the Lord of Hosts upwards of thirty years, against the world, sin, and Satan—and he has been a conqueror—he has fought successfully—many, very many, converted sinners are the trophies of his victory. But now his warfare is accomplished, the Captain of his salvation has granted him a discharge, he has entered into his everlasting rest, and is reaping the benefit of a life sincerely dedicated to the service of the once crucified, but now exalted Jesus. He preached the day before his decease: though his death was sudden, he was not surprized. The morning of his departure, not many hours before his spirit took its flight to the regions of bliss, he prayed to the God of his salvation, and committed his departing soul into his hands, as his faithful Creator, and all merciful Redeemer. Soon after he said, 'I am near my end'—then fell asleep—he fainted and died—not one sigh, or groan—the Lord heard his prayer, and granted his request, and gave him an easy dismission out of time into eternity. Sudden death was his desire; and sudden death was to him sudden glory. He has fought the good fight: few, if any, since the apostles, have been more extensively useful, or laboured more abundantly. Thousands, I believe, I may with propriety say, in England, Scotland, and America, have great reason to bless God for his ministrations; for he hath travelled far and wide, proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation through faith in a crucified Saviour. Adorable Emanuel, make thou up the loss of him to thy church and people! Let a double portion of thy spirit be poured out upon the remaining ministers! Let that holy fire, which burnt so bright in thy departed servant, warm each of their hearts! And, O thou Lord

of the harvest, send forth more such true and faithful labourers into thy harvest!"

Many funeral discourses were preached for him at home and abroad. In that by the Rev. D. Edwards, November 11, 1770, on Hebrews xi. 4. "*By it he being dead, yet speaketh*"—is given the character of Mr. Whitefield as follows:—

1. "The ardent love he bore to the Lord Jesus Christ was remarkable. This divine principle constrained him to an unwearied application in the service of the gospel; and transported him, at times, in the eyes of some, beyond the bounds of sober reason. He was content to be a fool for Christ's sake; to be despised, so Christ might be honoured; to be nothing, that Jesus might be all in all. He had such a sense of the incomparable excellence of the person of Christ, of his adorable condescension in taking our nature upon him, and enduring the curses of the holy law; his complete suitableness and sufficiency, as the wisdom, righteousness, sactification, and redemption of his people, that he could never say enough of him. He was so convinced of the happy tendency and efficacy of this principle in his own mind, that he made use of it, and proposed it to others, in the room of a thousand arguments, whenever he would inculcate the most unreserved obedience to the whole will of God, or stir up believers to a holy diligence in adorning the doctrines of God our Saviour in all things. Inspired by this principle, nothing frightened or flattered him from his duty.

2. "Another pleasing ingredient in his character, and a sure evidence of the former, was love to the souls of mankind. He rejoiced in their prosperity as one that had found great spoil; and with St. Paul, was willing to spend and be spent in promoting their happiness. He loved all who loved Jesus Christ in sincerity, however they might differ in some circumstantials. He embraced

all opportunities to expose the malignant leaven of a party, and to remove prejudices and misapprehensions, which good people too often entertain of one another, when under the influence of a sectarian humour.

3. " His attachment to the great doctrines of the gospel was inflexible; having known their worth, and experienced their power in his own heart, he plainly saw, that though they were unacceptable to the carnal heart, yet they bore the plain impress of the infinite wisdom of God. Those important truths, which tended to humble the sinner, to exalt Christ, and promote holiness in heart and life, were his darling subjects. He did not disguise gospel truths by some artful sweetening, to render them more palatable to men of corrupt minds; he studied to preach the word in its purity, plainness, and simplicity. The warmth of his zeal disgusted many who make a mighty outcry about candour and charity, and are willing to extend it to every sentiment, except the truths in which the apostles gloried. It was his love to the truths of God, and the souls of men, that led him to expose those who plead for the rectitude and excellency of human nature; deny the proper godhead of Jesus Christ, justification by faith in his righteousness imputed, or the new birth; and the absolute necessity of the operations of the Holy Ghost. Faith and holiness were ever united together in his system, in opposition to those who pretend to faith without obedience to the law of God as the rule of life. He knew errors in the great truths of the gospel are not indifferent, but dreadful and fatal; he knew it was not candour and charity to say that errors in judgment are not hurtful, but the greatest unmercifulness and cruelty; therefore he often reproved such sharply.

" Although he was so tenacious of the foundation-truths of the gospel, yet none more candid in things that are not essential; herein he was full of gentleness

and forbearance. In things indifferent he became all things to all men.

4. "To the foregoing particulars in Mr. Whitefield's character, I may add his zeal. His christian zeal was like the light of the sun, which did warm, shine and cherish, but knew not to destroy; full of generous philantrophy and benevolence, his zeal made him exceeding earnest and importunate in his addresses to saints and sinners. His zeal returned blessings for curses, and prayers for ill treatment—it kindled in him a becoming indignation against the errors, follies, and sins of the time—it led him to weep bitterly over those who would not be persuaded to fly from the wrath to come—it made him bold and intrepid in the cause of God, and kept him from that flatness and deadness, which is too visible in some good ministers. In those things he was an example to ministers of every denomination; and if the limits of my discourse would admit, I could mention many things, as to his charity to the poor, his humility, &c."

On Sunday, November 18, 1770, the Rev. John Wesley, preached his funeral sermon at the chapel in Tottenham-Court Road, and at the Tabernacle,* from Numbers xxiii. 10. "*Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.*" And in the sermon, after giving some particulars of his life and death, Mr. Wesley says:—

I. "We are next to take some view of his character. A little sketch of this was soon after his death, published

* London Chronicle, November 19, 1770. "Yesterday the Rev. John Wesley preached a funeral sermon on Mr. Whitefield's death in the morning, at Tottenham-Court Chapel; and in the evening, at the Tabernacle: the inside of each place was lined with black cloth, and an escutcheon hung on the pulpits. The multitudes that went with a design to hear the sermon exceed all belief. The chapel and tabernacle were both filled as soon as they were opened."

in the Boston Gazette, an extract of which is subjoined. Little can be said of him, but what every friend to vital christianity, who has sat under his ministry will assert. In his public labours he has for many years astonished the world with his eloquence and devotion. With what divine pathos did he persuade the impenitent sinner to embrace the practise of piety and virtue: filled with the spirit of grace, he spoke from the heart with a fervency of zeal, perhaps unequalled since the days of the apostles; adorned the truths he delivered with the most graceful charms of rhetoric and oratory. From the pulpit he was unrivalled in the command of an ever-crowded auditory. Nor was he less agreeable and instructive in his private conversation: happy in a remarkable ease of address, willing to communicate, studious to edify. May the rising generation catch a spark of that flame which shone with such distinguished lustre in the spirit and practice of this faithful servant of the most high God.

2. "A more particular and equally just character of him, has appeared in one of the English papers, London Chronicle, November 8, 1770. It may not be disagreeable to you to add the substance of this likewise. The character of this truly pious person, must be deeply impressed on the heart of every friend to vital religion. In spite of a tender and delicate constitution, he continued to the last day of his life, preaching with a frequency and a fervour, that seemed to exceed the natural strength of the most robust. Being called to the exercise of his function at an age, when most young men are only beginning to qualify themselves for it, he had not time to make a very considerable progress in the learned languages: but this defect was amply supplied by a lively and fertile genius, by fervent zeal, and by a formidable and most persuasive delivery. And though in the pulpit he often found it needful, by the terrors

of the Lord, to persuade men, he had nothing gloomy in his nature, being singularly chearful, as well as charitable and tender-hearted. He was as ready to relieve the bodily, as the spiritual necessities of those that applied to him. It ought also to be observed, that he constantly enforced upon his audience every moral duty, particularly industry in their several callings, and obedience to their superiors. He endeavoured by the most extraordinary efforts of preaching in different places, and even in the open fields, to rouse the lower class of people, from the last degree of inattention and ignorance, to a sense of religion. For this, and his other labours, the name of GEORGE WHITEFIELD will long be remembered with esteem and veneration.

3. "That both these accounts are just and impartial, will readily be allowed; that is, as far as they go: but they go little farther than the outsides of his character: they show you the preacher, but not the man, the christian, the saint of God. May I be permitted to add a little on this head, from a personal knowledge of near forty years? Indeed, I am thoroughly sensible how difficult it is to speak on so delicate a subject; what prudence is required to avoid both extremities, to say neither too little nor too much! Nay, I know it is impossible to speak at all, to say either less or more, without incurring from some the former, from others the latter, censure. Some will seriously think that too little is said; and others that it is too much: but without attending to this, I will speak just what I know, before Him to whom we are all to give an account.

4. "Mention has been already made of his unparalleled zeal, his indefatigable activity, his tender-heartedness to the afflicted, and charitableness toward the poor. But should we not likewise mention his deep gratitude to all whom God had used as instruments of good to him? Of whom he did not cease to speak in the most

respectful manner, even to his dying day. Should we not mention that he had a heart susceptible of the most generous and the most tender friendship? I have frequently thought, that this, of all others, was the distinguishing part of his character. How few have we known of so kind a temper, of such large and flowing affections. Was it not principally by this, that the hearts of others were so strongly drawn and knit to him? Can any thing but love beget love? This shone in his very countenance, and continually breathed in all his words, whether in public or private. Was it not this, which, quick and penetrating as lightning, flew from heart to heart? Which gave that life to his sermons, his conversation, his letters? Ye are witnesses.

5. "But away with the vile misconstruction of men of corrupt minds, who knew of no love, but what is earthly and sensual. Be it remembered at the same time, that he was endued with the most nice and unblemished modesty. His office called him to converse very frequently and largely with women as well as men, and those of every age and condition. But his whole behaviour towards them, was a practical comment on that advice of St. Paul to Timothy, "intreat the elder women as mothers, the younger as sisters, with all purity."

6. "Mean time, how suitable to the friendliness of his spirit, was the frankness and openness of his conversation? Although it was as far removed from rudeness on the one hand, as from guilt and disguise on the other. Was not this frankness at once a fruit and a proof of his courage and intrepidity? Armed with these, he feared not the faces of men, but used great plainness of speech to persons of every rank and condition, high and low, rich and poor; endeavouring only by manifestation of the truth, to commend himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God.

7. "Neither was he afraid of labour or pains, any more than of what man could do unto him, being equally

'Patient in bearing ill, and doing well.'

"And this appeared in the steadiness wherewith he pursued whatever he undertook, for his Master's sake—witness one instance for all, the orphan-house in Georgia, which he began and perfected, in spite of all discouragements. Indeed, in whatever concerned himself, he was pliable and flexible. In this case he was easy to be intreated, easy to be either convinced or persuaded; but he was immoveable in the things of God, or wherever his conscience was concerned. None could persuade, any more than affright him, to vary in the least point from that integrity, which was inseparable from his whole character, and regulated all his words and actions. Herein he did

'Stand as an iron pillar strong,
And stedfast as a wall of brass.'

8. "If it be enquired, what was the foundation of this integrity, or of his sincerity, courage, patience, and every other valuable and amiable quality? it is easy to give the answer. It was not the excellence of his natural temper—not the strength of his understanding—it was not the force of education—no, nor the advice of his friends. It was no other than faith in a believing Lord; faith of the operation of God. It was a lively hope of an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away. It was the love of God shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost, which was given unto him, filled his soul with tender, disinterested love to every child of man. From this source arose that torrent of eloquence, which frequently bore down all before it. From this, that astonishing force of persuasion, which the most hardened sinners could not resist. This it

was, which often made his head as waters, and his eyes a fountain of tears. This it was, which enabled him to pour out his soul in prayer, in a manner peculiar to himself, with such fulness and ease united together, with such strength and variety both of sentiment and expression.

9. "I may close this head with observing, what an honour it pleased God to put upon his faithful servant, by allowing him to declare his everlasting gospel in so many various countries, to such numbers of people, and with so great an effect on so many of their precious souls!"

On the same day, November 18, 1770, the Rev. Henry Venn, A.M. rector of Yelling in Huntingdonshire, and chaplain to the right honourable the earl of Buchan, preached a sermon at the countess of Huntingdon's Chapel at Bath, on Isaiah viii. 18. *Behold I, and the children whom the Lord hath given me, are for signs and for wonders in Israel, from the Lord of Hosts, which dwelleth in Mount Zion.*—The following hymn was sung:—

1 Servant of God, well done!
Thy glorious warfare's past,
The battle's fought, the race is won,
And thou art crown'd at last;
Of all thy heart's desire,
Triumphantly possest,
Lodg'd by the ministerial quīre
In thy Redeemer's breast.

2 In condescending love
Thy ceaseless prayer be heard,
And bade thee suddenly remove
To thy compleat reward:
Ready to bring the peace,
Thy beauteous feet were shod,
When mercy sigh'd thy soul's release
And caught thee up to God.

3 With saints enthron'd on high,
Thou dost thy Lord proclaim,
And still to God salvation cry,
Salvation to the Lamb!
O happy, happy soul,
In extasies of praise,
Long as eternal ages roll,
Thou seest thy Saviour's face.

4 Redeem'd from earth and pain,
Ah! when shall we ascend,
And all in Jesu's presence reign
With our translated friend!
Come, Lord, and quickly come!
And when in thee compleat,
Receive thy longing servants home,
To triumph at thy feet!

Of Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Venn says:—"Though the children of Christ are all for signs and for wonders in Israel, yet do they differ as one star differeth from another star in glory. Talents, grace, and zeal, eminently dignify some, and draw the eyes of men upon them. In the foremost of this rank, doubtless, is the Rev. Mr. Whitefield to be placed; for his doctrine was the doctrine of the Reformers, of the Apostles, and of Christ—it was the doctrine of free grace, of God's everlasting love. Through Jesus he preached the forgiveness of sins, and perseverance in holy living, through his faithfulness and power engaged to his people. And the doctrines which he preached, he eminently adorned by his zeal, and by his works. For, if the greatness, extent, success, and disinterestedness of a man's labour, can give him distinction amongst the children of Christ, we are warranted to affirm, that scarce any one of his ministers, since the apostles days, has exceeded—scarce any one has equalled Mr. Whitefield.

"What a sign and wonder was this man of God in the greatness of his labours! One cannot but stand amazed that his mortal frame could, for the space

of thirty years, without interruption, sustain the weight of them. For what is so trying to the human frame, in youth especially, as long-continued, frequent and violent straining of the lungs? Who, that knows their structure, would think it possible, that a person, little above the age of manhood, should speak in the compass of a single week, and that for years, in general, forty hours, and in very many weeks sixty, and that to thousands; and after this labour, instead of taking any rest, should be offering up prayers, intercessions, with hymns and spiritual songs, as his manner was, in every house to which he was invited. The history of the church of Christ affords but very few instances of men thus incessantly employing their whole strength, as it were, every breath they drew, in the business of their sacred function. And the truth is, that, in point of labour, this extraordinary servant of God did as much in a few weeks, as most of those who exert themselves are able to do in the space of a year. Thus labouring not by fits or starts, but with constancy, perseverance, and ardour unabated, his mortal frame, about nine years since, began to sink under the weight of much work. If with the length and frequency of Mr. Whitefield's preaching, we consider the intenseness of voice and spirit with which he spoke, the greatness of his labours will appear perfectly astonishing. He knew not how to speak with less zeal, in his whole manner, than became the subject of his discourse. The total ruin of the human race by the fall, the complete recovery of believers in Christ, his dying love, and the unsearchable riches of his grace, to be known experimentally in this life, though fully to be displayed in the next; and the infatuation of sinners, led captive by their lusts, down to the chambers of death. These grand truths, of more weight than words can paint, fired his whole soul; they transported him as much as earthly

spirits are transported into vehemence, when they contend personally for their own property; he cried out therefore, as his dear Lord was wont to do, with a voice audible to an amazing distance. Hence, in a thousand instances, where the cause of God more coolly pleaded, would have been neglected, he gained it a hearing, and carried the day: for the unusual earnestness of the speaker roused the most stupid and lethargic; it compelled them to feel—the matter must be momentous, indeed, which the speaker was urging, as a man would plead for his own life. Early and often his body suffered for this violent exertion of his strength. Early and often his inside has bled a considerable quantity, and cried out, spare thyself; but, prodigal of life, in the best of causes, he would give himself no rest, expecting very soon to finish his course, and infinitely desirous to save the souls condemned to die—he perished. Though this may be blamed as an excess, it was an excess far above the reach of a selfish mind, or an ordinary faith.

"Equal to the greatness and intenseness of his labours, was their extent. The abilities and grace of most teachers, have full employ in a small district, nor have common men talents for more. But, when God lights up in the breast, an apostolic zeal for his own glory, an apostolic love for the souls of men, it seems reasonable to conclude, such an instrument is designed for the most extensive usefulness.

"Accordingly the compass of Mr. Whitefield's labours, exceeds any thing that others can pretend to. Not only in the south, the west, and north of England, did he lift up his voice, saying, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is come, but in Wales, in Scotland, in Ireland, and America, from Georgia to Boston, vast multitudes in each country were witnesses of his zeal for the salvation of souls.

"And to crown all, he was abundantly successful in his vast labours, and disinterested too. The seals to his ministry, from first to last, I am persuaded, are more than could be credited, could the number be fixed. This is certain, his amazing popularity was only from his usefulness; for he no sooner opened his mouth as a preacher, than God commanded an extraordinary blessing upon his word. The people were so deeply impressed with the sense of divine things, from what he delivered, that, to his own great surprise, they followed him from church to church, until the largest churches in London could no longer contain a fourth part of the crowds, which pressed to hear the word of God from his lips.

"Should any one say, few in comparison, besides the low, ignorant, common people, were his followers, I would answer, the souls of the poor and ignorant, are to the full as precious as those of the rich and learned; and the mob have shewn the justest discernment, and have received the truth; whilst men of wealth, learning, and education, have trampled it under their feet. Witness the chief scribes and pharisees, who rejected both the Baptist and the Saviour, when the common people justified God, and gave them both the honour of being sent from him. Indeed, in every age, we see the scripture fulfilled—not many rich, not many mighty, not many wise men after the flesh are called; but God hath chosen the poor, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom.

"However, when the fierceness of prejudice was worn off, numbers, who at first despised him, taught to do so by gross slanders, were happy under his ministry. And this honour was put upon him even to the last. He had a much larger audience statedly to hear him, than any man in the whole kingdom, perhaps in all Christendom.

"And that this vast multitude of people were gathered, just as the primitive churches of Christ, by the

truth they heard, and the spiritual benefit they received under his word, is evident beyond a reasonable doubt. For, if you trace his progress through the various cities and countries where he preached the gospel, you will find, as the case was with St. Paul, so it was with this servant of Christ—many were turned by him from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God, receiving remission of their sins, and an inheritance among those that are sanctified, through faith in Christ. Enquire of the effects of his labours, from the only proper judges, those who live in the religious world; and they will aver, that many within their own knowledge, small as that circle must be, confess they owe their ownselves, to this faithful witness for his Lord. Added to this, that the letters he received of grateful acknowledgements from persons of all ages and conditions in life, for the spiritual blessings he had conveyed to them, would fill volumes. Nay, it is a well known fact, that the conversion of men's souls has been the fruit of a single sermon from his lips; so eminently was he made of God, a fisher of men. But he was not more successful than he was disinterested in his labours; for though a vast multitude, which must ever be the case with those whom God is pleased remarkably to own, followed him, he had still no ambition to stand at the head of a party. His great object was to exalt Christ crucified; and when his hearers were brought to the knowledge of salvation, his point was gained, and his soul was satisfied. Hence neither in his sermons, nor more private exhortations, did he cast disparaging reflexions upon other preachers of Christ. No base suggestion dropt from his mouth, as if to differ from him must be owing to blindness in the judgment, or coldness of the heart for the interests of holiness. Truly cordial and catholic in his love for all who appeared to love the Lord Jesus in sincerity,

he never desired to see his congregation increased by those who had evangelical pastors of their own.

"Further, in proof of his disinterestedness, consider what he gained by his labours. The scourge of the tongue was let loose upon him, and his name was loaded with the foulest calumnies; he was often in tumults, and more than once in danger of his life, by the rage of the people; he wore himself away in the service of souls; and when he died, he died quite exhausted by much speaking; but in his death, he received an immediate answer to his own prayer, 'that if it were consistent with the divine will, he might finish that day his Master's work.'

"For such a life, and such a death, though in tears under our great loss, we must yet thank God. And though we are allowed to sorrow, because we shall never see or hear him again, we must rejoice that millions have heard him so long, so often, and to much good effect; that out of this mass of people, multitudes are gone before him, we doubt not, to hail his entrance into the world of glory; and that in every period of life, from childhood to hoary age, many of his children in the Lord are still to follow; all to be his crown of rejoicing: the only effectual, everlasting confutation of his adversaries; that he ran not in vain, nor laboured in vain."

Many more sermons were preached, on Mr. Whitefield's death, by the Rev. Messrs. Whitaker and Smith, of Charlestown; Sproutt, of Philadelphia; Langford, Elliott, &c. &c.

To be the subject of so many funeral sermons, both at home and abroad, is something singular, though quite suitable to his extraordinary manner of life. But it was still more singular, to have a sermon preached upon his personal and ministerial character, in his own lifetime, and when he was but twenty-six years of age. This sermon was preached by the Rev. Josiah Smith of

Charlestown, South Carolina, and was published at Boston, with a recommendatory preface by the Rev. Dr. Coleman and the Rev. Mr. Cooper, in the year 1740. Of this it is worth while to make a short extract, after all that has been said; that by comparing it with the funeral sermons, the reader may see how consistent and uniform Mr. Whitefield's conduct was, from that early period of his ministry, till his death.

Having mentioned his doctrine, original sin, justification by faith alone, regeneration, the work of the Spirit in the heart—Mr. Smith adds, "As to the manner of his preaching, with what a flow of words did he speak to us, upon the great concern of our souls! In what a flaming light did he set out eternity before us! How earnestly did he press Christ upon us! How close, strong, and pungent were his applications to the conscience: mingling light and heat; pointing the arrows of the Almighty at the heart of sinners, while he poured in the balm on the wounds of the contrite! How bold and courageous did he look! He was no flatterer. He taught the way of God in truth, and regarded not the persons of men. The politest and most modish of our vices, he struck at, the most fashionable entertainments; regardless of every one's presence, but his in whose name he spake.

"As to his personal character, while he preaches up faith alone in our justification before God, he is careful to maintain good works. These things the grace of God teaches us; and how much of this doctrine has he transcribed into his life! How rich has he been in all good works! What an eminent pattern of piety towards God! How holy and unblameable in all conversation and godliness! How seasoned, how much to the use of edifying all his discourses! How naturally does he turn them to religion! How much is he given

to devotion himself; and how does he labour to excite it in others!

"He affects no party in religion, nor sets himself at the head of any. He is not bigotted to the lesser rites and forms of religion, while zealous enough in all its essentials. He professes love to good men of every denomination. His heart seems set upon doing good. He goes about his great Master's work with diligence and application, and with such chearfulness, as would make one in love with a life of religion. He is proof against reproach and invective. When he is reviled, he revileth not again; but prays heartily for all his enemies.

"He renders to all their due. While zealous for the things of God, is a friend to Cæsar. And for charity, as it consists in compassion and acts of beneficence, we have few men like-minded. Had he been under any criminal influence of a mercenary temper---had he collected for himself in his journies, under the pretext of doing it for the poor, as he was slanderously reported, he had certainly a fair opportunity to enrich himself. But we have seen, and plain fact cannot be denied, that he cast all into the treasury, and serves the tables of the poor with it. Strolling and vagabond orphans, without father, and without mother, without purse, and without friend, he seeks out, picks up, and adopts into his family. He is now building accommodations, and laying the best foundation for their support and maintenance."

Such is the character given by Mr. Smith. He had the satisfaction of witnessing the upright conduct of Mr. Whitefield to the end of life. Also, in his funeral sermon, he says, alluding to a visit he made to the orphan-house, "it was a scene that made me think I was in heaven."

It appears, from a paper written by Mr. Whitefield, that if he had lived to finish his imperfect manuscript, sometimes quoted in these memoirs, the conclusion would have been, "Reflexions upon the whole, containing arguments to prove the divinity of the work; and answers to objections against field preaching—lay-preaching—irregularities—and the blemishes that have attended it."

His death preventing the execution of this design, we could refer the reader to what has been published upon the subject, by the Rev. Messrs. Jonathan Edwards, Hobby, Shutliff, &c.

The Rev. John Newton, late rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, preached a sermon at Olney, November 11, 1770, on John v. 35. "*He was a burning, and a shining light.*" In which he speaks of Mr. Whitefield, as follows:—"Some ministers are burning and shining lights in a peculiar and eminent degree. Such a one, I doubt not, was the servant of God, whose death we now lament. I have had some opportunities of looking over the history of the church in past ages, I am not backward to say, that I have not read or heard of any person since the apostles days, of whom it may be more emphatically said, he was a burning and shining light, than the late Mr. Whitefield, whether we consider the warmth of his zeal, the greatness of his ministerial talents, or the extensive usefulness with which the Lord honoured him. I do not mean to praise the man, but the Lord who furnished him, and made him what he was. He was raised up to shine in a dark place. The state of religion, when he first appeared in public, was very low in our established church. I speak the truth, though to some it may be an offensive truth. The doctrines of grace were seldom heard from the pulpit, and the life and power of godliness were little known. Many of the most spiritual among

the dissenters, were mourning under the sense of a great spreading declension on their side. What a change has taken place throughout the land within a little more than thirty years, that is, since the time when the first set of despised ministers came to Oxford! And how much of this change has been owing to God's blessing on Mr. Whitefield's labours, is well known to many who have lived through this period; and can hardly be denied by those who are least willing to allow it.

"First—He was a burning light. He had an ardent zeal for God, an inflamed desire for the salvation of sinners: so that no labours could weary him, no difficulties or opposition discouraged him, hardly any limits could confine him—not content with the bounds of a county, or a kingdom, this messenger of good tidings preached the everlasting gospel in almost every considerable place in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and throughout the British empire in America, which is an extent of more than one thousand miles. Most of these places he visited again and again; nor did he confine his attention to places of note, but in the former part of his ministry, was ready to preach to few, as well as to many, wherever a door was opened; though in the latter part of his life, his frequent illness, and the necessity of his more immediate charge, confined him more at home. In some of his most early excursions, the good providence of God led him here; and many, I trust, were made willing to rejoice in his light, and have reason to bless God, that ever they saw and heard him.

"Secondly—He was a shining light. His zeal was not like wildfire, but directed by sound principles, and a sound judgment. In this part of his character, I would observe---1st. Though he was very young when he came out, the Lord soon gave him a very clear view of the gospel. In the sermons he published, soon after

his first appearance, there is the same evangelical strain observable, as in those which he preached in his advanced years. Time and observation, what he felt, and what he saw, enlarged his experience, and gave his preaching an increasing ripeness and savour, as he grew older in the work; but from first to last he preached the same gospel, and was determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified. 2d. His steadiness and perseverance in the truth was the more remarkable, considering the difficulties and snares he was sometimes beset with. But the Lord kept him steady, so that neither the example, nor friendship, nor importunity of those he dearly loved, were capable of moving him. 3d. The Lord gave him a manner of preaching, which was peculiarly his own. He copied from none, and I never met any one who could imitate him with success. They who attempted, generally made themselves disagreeable. His familiar address, the power of his action, his marvellous talent in fixing the attention even of the most careless, I need not describe to those who have heard him, and to those who have not, the attempt would be vain. Other ministers could preach the gospel as clearly, and in general say the same things; but, I believe, no man living could say them in his way. Here I always thought him unequalled; and I hardly expect to see his equal while I live. 4th. But that which finished his character, as a shining light, and is now his crown of rejoicing, was the singular success which the Lord was pleased to give him in winning souls. What numbers entered the kingdom of glory before him, and what numbers are now lamenting his loss, who were awakened by his ministry! It seemed as if he never preached in vain. Perhaps there is hardly a place, in all the extensive compass of his labours, where some may not yet be found, who thankfully acknowledge him for their spiritual father. Nor was he an awakening preacher only;

wherever he came, if he preached but a single discourse, he usually brought a season of refreshment and revival with him, to those who had already received the truth. Great as his immediate and personal usefulness was, his occasional usefulness, if I may so call it, was, perhaps, much greater. Many have cause to be thankful for him, who never saw or heard him. I have always observed, that there was a something peculiar in his manner of preaching, in which no person of sound judgment would venture to imitate him. But, notwithstanding this, he was in other respects, a signal and happy pattern and model for preachers. He introduced a way of close and lively application to the conscience, for which, I believe, many of the most admired and eminent preachers now living, will not be ashamed, or unwilling to acknowledge themselves his debtor."

How highly the Rev. William Romaine thought of Mr. Whitefield, his own account of his death will best tell. "Look at the public loss, O what has the church suffered in the setting of that bright star, which had shone so gloriously in our hemisphere. Mr. Whitefield's preaching is over—now he is praising. We have none left to succeed him: none of his gifts: none any thing like him in usefulness."

The Rev. Samuel Brewer, of Stepney, near London, also preached a sermon on the occasion, which his modesty would not permit him to print. And many ministers, both in and out of the establishment, amongst whom were the Rev. William Romaine, the Rev. Martin Madan, the Rev. Dr. Gibbons, and the Rev. Dr. Trotter, who, in their preaching and prayers, lamented the loss of so eminently faithful, and uncommonly successful a servant of God

CHAP. XXII.

Letters on Mr. Whitefield's death. His character as a preacher, by the Rev. Cornelius Winter, &c. &c. Rev. A. M. Toplady, and William Cowper, Esq.

THE following extract of a letter appeared in the Georgia Gazette, soon after Mr. Whitefield's death:—

"The consideration of public calamities is never out of season; and if properly attended to, as they ought to be, will afford matter of great improvement to to the mind, that views them as happening by the permission of an unerring divine Providence. And as the loss of eminent and public-spirited persons, who have signally distinguished themselves by serving their country in a free, disinterested, and generous manner, is none of the least, so it deserveth a particular regard.

"In this light, I look upon the very much-lamented death of the late Rev. George Whitefield, especially in respect to Georgia; for which he has demonstrated by every mean in his power, a most uncommonly warm, affectionate, and unabating regard, for near thirty-three years past; I say, by every mean in his power, because it is well known that, until within a few years past, he has been constantly loaded with a heavy debt to support and carry on his benevolent institution, the orphan-house, which he frequently felt so severely, that had not that God, whom he faithfully served, supported him, he must have sunk under the burden; notwith-

standing he was at the same time maligned, traduced, and persecuted with unrelenting virulence, as a cheat, an impostor, and public robber; who, under the specious pretence of promoting a charitable design, was amassing great wealth to himself: all which he bore with an uncommon degree of patience; and never to my knowledge said more, at these unmerited reproaches, than that the great day would shew his accusers their mistake.

"When he was the stated minister of this parish, which was before the orphan-house was settled, his liberal heart devised liberal things; and the then inhabitants of Savannah, of the villages of Highgate and Hampstead, and of the other adjacent places; the Saltzburghers, of Ebenezer, the inhabitants of Darien and Frederica, who were at that time not inconsiderable in number, all partook of his unbounded bounty to a very large amount; although he then almost denied himself the necessaries of life, with which I was intimately acquainted. In short, it was his whole study, in imitation of his great Master, to do good to the bodies, as well as to the souls, of all about him.

"He constantly performed divine service publicly very early every morning, and at the close of the day every evening, throughout the year, that he might not interrupt the new colonists in their labour in the day-time, when he always expounded part of the first or second lesson. Every Sunday he administered the holy communion, and had public service four times, and his congregations were very numerous, in comparison of the number of people in his parish; for though there were many dissenters, there were few absentees; besides, he made it his daily practice to visit in rotation from house to house, without any regard to religious denominations, or party distinctions, which he often told me, he thought a very important and indispensible part of a

minister's duty, as by that means he had an opportunity of frequently dropping a word in season, as well as of being better acquainted with the spiritual and temporal circumstances of his parishioners; and thereby, as far as in his power, of assisting them in both. Thus he acted as a parish minister, considering himself as the steward of God, and accountable for every moment of time, which he had solemnly dedicated to his service. And it is no wonder, when, by a series of divine Providence, his sphere of action became more enlarged and unconfined, that his zeal and activity were proportioned.

"These facts, of which there are some now living, besides myself, who can witness to the truth of them, I think it my honour and indispensible duty to communicate to the public, in memory of my very dear deceased friend.

"I could with great truth say much more, but I purposely confine my observations to his conduct in Georgia, where his memory appears to be deeply engraven on the hearts of its grateful inhabitants.

"The very honourable and truly respectful notice the legislature have publickly shewn to it, by causing the parish church in this town to be so decently and handsomely hung in mourning, and their attending as a body last Sunday on divine service, strongly mark their real concern for their loss. The rector, the Rev. Samuel Frink, gave a very suitable discourse in the morning, from Philippians i. 23, 24; and the Rev. Edward Ellington, another in the afternoon, from Hebrews ii. 26. Both of them affectionately remarked the many amiable qualifications of the deceased, as a christian, a divine, and a gentleman; and especially his liberality to this province; as likewise did the Rev. Mr. Zubly, in his meeting, which was also in mourning, from Daniel xii. 3.

"AN OLD AND REAL FRIEND TO THE DECEASED, AND TO GEORGIA."

The following extract of a letter was published in the Gospel Magazine, for February 1771:—

"My very dear Sir,

"A great man is fallen in our Israel—the Rev. Mr. Whitefield is no more! he has left his charge, his flock, and gone to mansions of blessedness.

"I may safely say, a great man, a great christian, an humble follower of the divine Redeemer, and a zealous defender of the doctrines of grace died, when Whitefield closed his eyes. That voice which was lifted up like a trumpet, and flew around the sacred roof, proclaiming salvation through the dying Jesus, teaching a sinful world the Saviour's name, is now lost in perpetual silence! That man, whose labours in the cause of God, have been more abundant, has ceased from his work. That eminent minister of the New Testament, that son of thunder to the careless and secure, that chearing son of consolation to the weary and heavy laden, who has been distinguished as the happy instrument of bringing strayed sheep to the fold of God, is gone to experience the truth of his doctrines; and will one day appear, with all those who have been savingly brought to the knowledge of Jesus by his means, at the right hand of God, to give an account of the ministry he received from him; and in the presence of a surrounding world, say, 'Lord, here am I, and the children thou hast given me.'

"It is an afflictive, awful, and alarming providence to the church of God. A great light extinguished, a bright star set, and a numerous people deprived of their pastor. Who shall supply his place? Who shall, with that pathetic language, strength of argument, and force of persuasion, compel sinners to partake of the gospel feast? Who shall animate our associations, and diffuse a spirit of candour, charity, and moderation, through-

out our assemblies? Who shall declare the glories, the riches, the freeness, the fulness of that compleat salvation which Messiah finished? Who shall exhort, by precept and example, to that steady, uniform, constant, character, which adorns the profession of the gospel? Who shall recommend a life of fellowship and communion with the Father, Son, and Spirit, as the most desirable blessing, and build up the saints in their most holy faith? Who shall!---I am stopped by the mouth of him who says, 'Shall I not do what I will with my own? Is it not my prerogative to take and leave, as seemeth me good? I demand the liberty of disposing my servants at my own pleasure---he hath not slept as others do---it is your's to wait and trust, mine to dispose and govern---on me be the care of ministers and churches---with me is the residue of the Spirit---I set my labourers to work, and when I please, I take them to the rest I have appointed for them---my power is not diminished, my arm not shortened, my love not abated, and my faithfulness still the same---I know my sheep, and they shall not stray into forbidden pastures, for want of a shepherd to feed them with knowledge and understanding.'

"With these thoughts my passions subside, my mind is softened and satisfied. But now for the wings of faith and divine contemplation, to view him among the celestial throng, partaking of the happiness, sharing the joys of yonder blissful regions---ascribing salvation to Him who loved and washed him in his blood---having on that perfect robe of immaculate righteousness, wrought out by the dear Redeemer---having on his head a crown of never-fading glory, and palms of eternal victory in his hands---drinking at the fountain head of blessedness, and refreshing himself continually at that river which flows in sweet murmurs from the right hand of the Majesty on high---for ever out of the reach of scandal and

reproach---where calumny can never penetrate, and the wicked cease from troubling---where God, even his own God, wipes away all tears from his eyes---where he will for ever bask in the boundless fruition of eternal love, continually receiving out of the divine fulness, fresh supplies of glory for glory, from which on earth, he had communication of grace for grace---sees the King in his beauty, rejoices in the beatific vision, follows the Lamb wheresoever he goes---and with those who are redeemed from among men, rests in the closest embraces of his Lord.

"And, now his voice is lost in death,
Praise will employ his noblest pow'rs,
While life, or thought, or being last,
Or immortality endures!"

"Here we must take our leave of the dear departed saint, till the happy time takes place, when we shall put off this body, and enter the confines of unmolested joy. And O! in what elevation of happiness, and refinement of felicity, shall we awake up in the likeness and express image of that God, who has loved us, and called us with an holy calling. Yet let us be persuaded of this, that when the important period commences, when the surprizing signs, and descending inhabitants of heaven proclaim the second coming of our glorious Imanuel—when the heavens open and disclose his radiant glory, the archangel's trump shall sound, the Lord himself descend with a shout, and the dead in Christ arise glorious and immortal—leave corruption, weakness and dishonour behind them—we shall with him, and all the ransomed race, ascend to mansions of glory, bliss and immortality, and join that universal chorus:—

"Say, live for ever, glorious King!
Born to redeem, and strong to save:
Then ask the monster, where's thy sting?
And where's thy vict'ry, boasting grave?"

"But, my dear sir, this awful dispensation demands a suitable improvement. The death of ministers, and mankind in general, are so many memento's—be ye also ready, is their solemn language. Come then, O my soul, examine with impartiality thy state. Nothing but an interest in the perfectly finished, infinitely glorious, and everlastingly sufficient, salvation of Jehovah Jesus, can be of any avail, can be any real ground of consolation, when the grim tyrant stares thee in the face. May thy evidence be clear, thy faith strong, and thy hope on tiptoe; that when the Bridegroom comes, and summons thy attendance, thou mayest with joy answer, Lord, I come.

"Should not the death of one and another of God's people, give fresh wings to our souls, make life less pleasant, and heaven more desirable—wean our affections from the beggarly enjoyments of time and sense, and make us long to dwell where Jesus reveals his beauties, glories, and matchless excellence, face to face? Here on earth we have some faint glimmerings, and O! how ought we to prize them, as they are drops from the ocean! but the ravishing blaze is reserved for the upper and better world.

"O glorious hour, O bless'd abode!
I shall be near, and like my God;
And flesh and sense no more control
The sacred pleasures of the soul."

"Though our interviews in the church militant are very sweet, yet they are very short. The world's ten thousand baits, the devil's ensnaring wiles, but above all, the flesh with its legions of corruptions, enslave the soul, and deaden our relish for divine things. O happy day! O blessed hour! when Christ shall have all his enemies under his feet, and death itself be swallowed up of life—when we shall get within the inclosures of the New Jerusalem, and go out no more for ever!

"If faithful ministers are so soon removed from us, how should we prize them while we have them! O let us never give ear to, much less be the means of promoting the malevolent whispers of slander; but esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake! Should it not be our constant care, and studious concern, through divine grace, to improve by every sermon we hear, that the end of all ordinances may be obtained, even an increase in love to Jesus, and fellowship with him? That this desirable end may be answered, let us be earnest and frequent in our address to the throne of grace, for ministers and people, that God may be glorified by bringing home sinners to himself, and in the edification of saints—that each stone in the spiritual fabric may be edified and built up upon the foundation, Christ Jesus, till the top-stone is brought forth with shoutings, grace, grace, unto it!

"The clock strikes twelve, and tells me to conclude. But how can I do it, without commending you to that God, whose power alone is able to keep you from falling, and at last present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy? May he give you continual assurances of his grace, mercy and love, in his lower courts, thereby making them a heaven upon earth; and cause you at last to join the general assembly and church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven. This is the hearty, unfeigned, and constant prayer of him, who is, with great esteem and affection,

"Your's sincerely."

Character of the Rev. George Whitefield by the Rev. Cornelius Winter.

The following character of Mr. Whitefield as a preacher, is given in a letter addressed to the Rev. William Jay, of Bath, from the late venerable Cornelius Winter, minister of the gospel at Painswick in Gloucestershire. Mr. Winter was one of Mr. Whitefield's

most faithful fellow-labourers; he accompanied him several times to America, and regularly supplied the chapels in Mr. Whitefield's connexion. On his first going to the Tabernacle, he was particularly struck with the largeness of the congregation; the solemnity that sat upon it; the melody of the singing; Mr. Whitefield's striking appearance, and his earnestness in preaching. From this time prejudice had no more place in his breast; and he embraced every opportunity to hear him. Yet he had no knowledge of the evil of sin, and the depravity of his nature. On the 9th of April, 1760, being the Wednesday in the Easter-week, and the close of the holidays, as he was playing at cards with some of his companions in iniquity; recollecting he might that evening hear Mr. Whitefield, he broke off in the midst of the game, which much discomposed and enraged his companions, who suspected where he was going. It was a night much to be remembered. The scales of ignorance then fell from his eyes, a sense of his misery opened gradually to him, and he diligently enquired what he should do to be saved. He never more played a game afterwards. Mr. Whitefield's text was 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52. The introduction to the sermon, "Come my brethren, we have from Sunday till yesterday been meditating upon the resurrection of our Lord, it is now time that we should think about our own." "Could I recite the whole sermon," says Mr. Winter, "and it would read acceptable, it would want the energy, *viva voce*, which was so very peculiar to the preacher, that a resemblance is no where to be found. But it was God in the preacher that made the word efficacious; to him be the glory. It is a mercy he is not confined to the abilities of men whose talents are superior to those of their brethren. Much good was doing at that time by the instrumentality of men whose gifts were very inconsiderable; and the Lord could have wrought upon

my soul by an inferior preacher. It is 'not by might nor by power;' which is but to say, it is not by human eloquence, but by the spirit of the Lord, that work is wrought upon the soul which is essential to salvation."

Mr. Winter, though one of the most humble and diffident of men, has committed to paper, in a series of letters to his pupil, the Rev. William Jay, a long and valuable account of his life and connexions. These are indeed uncommonly entertaining and interesting; "for his life," as Mr. Jay observes (Preface, page 17.) "though it has not made so much noise in the world as the progress of some others, has been in no small degree diversified and eventful; and the whole has been, in a high degree, holy, benevolent, and useful." On Sunday evening, January the 10th, 1808, his happy spirit took its flight from this world of sin and misery, to the enjoyment of Him, whom having not seen, he loved; and in whom he rejoiced with joy unspeakable and full of glory! If the portrait of an eminently good man, exhibiting, in a most uncommon degree, the lustre of divine grace, and depicted by a delicate and masterly pencil, can excite attention and interest, the memoirs of the Rev. Cornelius Winter cannot fail to be a favourite with the religious public.

TO THE REV. WILLIAM JAY.

My very dear Friend,

In compliance with your request, my own history must be entwined with the history of others. I kept in mind the remark you made to me in a late conversation, namely, that it was the opinion of some, that there had not been sufficient notice taken of Mr. Whitefield as a preacher, and that you wished I would endeavour to exhibit him more particularly in that view. I doubt I shall fail in the attempt; though my close connexion

with his person as a private humble friend, as well as the attention I paid to his ministry, may be supposed to give me an advantage in writing upon this head.

The time he set apart for preparations for the pulpit, during my connexion with him, was not to be distinguished from the time he appropriated to other business. If he wanted to write a pamphlet upon any occasion, he was closeted; nor would he allow access to him, but on an emergency, while he was engaged in the work. But I never knew him engaged in the composition of a sermon until he was on board ship, when he employed himself partly in the composition of sermons, and reading very attentively the history of England, written by different authors. He had formed a design of writing the history of Methodism, but never entered upon it. He was never more in retirement on a Saturday than on another day; nor sequestered at any particular time for a period longer than he used for his ordinary devotions. I never met with any thing like the form of a skeleton of a sermon among his papers, with which I was permitted to be very familiar, nor did he ever give me any idea of the importance of being habituated to the planning of a sermon. It is not injustice to his great character to say, I believe he knew nothing about such a kind of exercise.

Usually for an hour or two before he went into the pulpit, he claimed retirement; and on a Sabbath-day morning more particularly, he was accustomed to have Clarke's Bible, Matthew Henry's Comment, and Cruden's Concordance, within his reach: his frame at that time was more than ordinarily devotional; I say more than ordinarily, because, though there was a vast vein of pleasantry usually in him, the intervals of conversation evidently appeared to be filled up with private ejaculation connected with praise. His rest was much interrupted, and his thoughts were much engaged with God

in the night. He has often said at the close of his very warm address, "This sermon I got when most of you who now hear me, were fast asleep." He made very minute observations, and was much disposed to be conversant with life, from the lowest mechanic to the first characters in the land. He let nothing escape him, but turned all into gold that admitted of improvement; and, in one way or other, the occurrence of the week or the day, furnished him with matter for the pulpit.—A specimen——when an extraordinary trial was going forward, he would be present; and on observing the formality of the judge putting on his black cap to pronounce sentence, I have known him avail himself of it in the close of a sermon; with his eyes full of tears, and his heart almost too big to admit of speech, dropping into a momentary pause——"I am going now to put on my condemning-cap: sinner, I must do it; I must pronounce sentence upon you"—and then in a tremendous strain of eloquence, recite our Lord's words, "Go ye cursed," not without a very powerful description of the nature of the curse. I again observe, that it would be only by hearing him, and by beholding his attitude and his tears, that a person could well conceive of the effect; for it was impossible but that solemnity must surround him, who, under God, became the means of making all solemn.

He had a most peculiar art of speaking personally to you, in a congregation of four thousand people, when no one would suspect his object. The famous comedian, Shuter, who had a great partiality for Mr. Whitefield, shewed him friendship, and often attended his ministry. At one period of his popularity he was acting in a drama under the character of Ramble. During the run of the performance, he attended service on Sabbath mornings at Tottenham-Court Chapel, and was seated in the pew exactly opposite to the pulpit, and while

Mr. Whitefield was giving full sally to his soul, and in his energetic address, was inviting sinners to the Saviour, he fixed himself full against Shuter, with his eye upon him, adding, to what he had previously said, "and thou, poor Ramble, who hast long rambled from him, come you also. O end your rambling by coming to Jesus." Shuter was exceedingly struck, and coming to Mr. Whitefield, said, "I thought I should have fainted, how could you serve me so?"—It was truly impressive to see him ascend the pulpit. My intimate knowledge of him admits of my acquitting him of the charge of affectation. He always appeared to enter the pulpit with a significance of countenance, that indicated he had something of importance which he wanted to divulge, and was anxious for the effect of the communication. His gravity on his descent was the same. As soon as ever he was seated in his chair, nature demanded relief, and gained it by a vast discharge from the stomach, usually with a considerable quantity of blood, before he was at liberty to speak. He was averse to much singing after preaching, supposing it diverted the savour of the subject. Nothing awkward, nothing careless, appeared about him in the pulpit, nor do I ever recollect his stumbling upon a word. To his ordinary as well as to his public appearance, this observation applies; whether he frowned or smiled, whether he looked grave or placid, it was nature acting in him.

Professed orators might object to his hands being lifted up too high, and it is to be lamented that in that attitude, rather than in any other, he is represented in print. His own reflexions upon that print was, when it was first put into his hands, "Sure I do not look such a sour creature as this sets me forth; if I thought I did, I should hate myself." It is necessary to remark that the attitude was very transient, and always accompanied by some expressions which would justify it.

He sometimes had occasion to speak of Peter's going out and weeping bitterly, and then he had a fold of his gown at command, which he put before his face with as much gracefulness as familiarity.

I hardly ever knew him go through a sermon without weeping more or less, and I truly believe his were the tears of sincerity. His voice was often interrupted by his affection; and I have heard him say in the pulpit, "You blame me for weeping, but how can I help it, when you will not weep for yourselves, though your immortal souls are upon the verge of destruction, and for aught you know, you are hearing your last sermon, and may never more have an opportunity to have Christ offered to you." The expressions of offering Christ was considered exceptionable by some good men, cotemporaries with him, whose judgment framed their phraseology; but though Mr. Whitefield was orthodox, his affection and zeal were not to be restrained from using free address, while labouring for the conversion of sinners. The language had been sanctioned by the old divines; and in the Scriptures we more than once read of "receiving Christ." His freedom in the use of his passions often put my pride to the trial. I could hardly bear such unreserved use of tears, and the scope he gave to his feelings, for sometimes he exceedingly wept, stamped loudly and passionately, and was frequently so overcome, that, for a few seconds, you would suspect he never could recover; and when he did, nature required some little time to compose herself.

You may be sure from what has been said, that when he treated upon the sufferings of our Saviour, it was not without great pathos. He was very ready at that kind of painting which frequently answered the end of real scenery. As though Gethsemene were within sight, he would say, stretching out his hand—"Look yonder! what is that I see! it is my agonizing Lord!"—And, as

though it were no difficult matter to catch the sound of the Saviour praying, he would exclaim, "Hark! Hark! do not you hear him?"—You may suppose that as this occurred frequently, the efficacy of it was destroyed; but, no; though we often knew what was coming, it was as new to us as though we had never heard it before.

That beautiful apostrophe, used by the prophet Jeremiah, "O earth, earth, earth, hear the words of the Lord," was very subservient to him, and never used impertinently.

He abounded with anecdotes, which, though not always recited verbatim, were very just as to the matter of them. One, for instance, I remember, tending to illustrate the efficacy of prayer, though I have not been able to meet with it in the English History—it was the case of the London apprentices before Henry VIII. pleading his pardon of their insurrection. The monarch, moved by their sight, and their plea, "Mercy! Mercy!" cried, "Take them away, I cannot bear it." The application you may suppose was, that if an earthly monarch of Henry's description, could be so moved, how forcible is the sinner's plea in the ears of Jesus Christ. The case of two Scotchmen, in the convulsion of the state at the time of Charles II. subserved his design; who unavoidably obliged to pass some of the troops, were conceiving of their danger, and meditating what method was to be adopted, to come off safe: one proposed the wearing of a scull-cap; the other, supposing that would imply distrust of the providence of God, was determined to proceed bare-headed. The latter, being first laid hold of, and being interrogated, "Are you for the covenant?" replied, "Yes;" and being farther asked, "What covenant?" answered, "The covenant of grace;" by which reply, eluding further enquiry, he was let pass: the other, not answering satisfactorily,

received a blow with the sabre, which, penetrating through the cap, struck him dead. In the application, Mr. Whitefield, warning against vain confidence, cried, "Beware of your scull-caps." But here likewise the description upon paper, wanting the reality as exemplified by him with voice and motion, conveys but a very faint idea. However, it is a disadvantage which must be submitted to, especially as coming from my pen.

The difference of the times in which Mr. Whitefield made his public appearance, materially determined the matter of his sermons, and, in some measure, the manner of his address. He dealt far more in the explanatory and doctrinal mode of preaching on a Sabbath-day morning, than perhaps at any other time; and sometimes made a little, but by no means improper, shew of learning. If he had read upon astronomy in the course of the week, you would be sure to discover it. He knew how to convert the centripetal motion of the heavenly bodies to the disposition of the christian toward Christ, and the fatal attraction of the world would be very properly represented by a reference to the centrifugal. Whatever the world might think of him, he had his charms for the learned as well as for the unlearned; and as he held himself to be a debtor both to the wise and to the unwise, each received his due at such times. The peer and the peasant alike went away satisfied.

As though he heard the voice of God ever sounding in his ears the important admonition, "Work while it is called to-day;" this was his work in London at one period of his life:—After administering the Lord's supper to several hundred communicants, at half an hour after six in the morning; reading the first and second service in the desk, which he did with the greatest propriety, and preaching full an hour, he read prayers and preached in the afternoon, previous to the evening service, at half an hour after five; and afterwards addressed a large

society in public. His afternoon sermon used to be more general and exhortatory. In the evening he drew his bow at a venture, vindicated the doctrines of grace, fenced them with Articles and Homilies, referred to the martyrs' zeal, and exemplified the power of divine grace in their sufferings, by quotations from the venerable Fox. Sinners were then closely plied, numbers of whom from curiosity coming to hear a sentence or two, were often compelled to hear the whole sermon. How many in the judgment day will rise to prove that they heard to the salvation of the soul.

Perhaps Mr. Whitefield never preached greater sermons than at six in the morning, for at that hour he did preach winter and summer, on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays. At these times his congregations were of the select description, and young men received admonitions similar with what were given in the society;* and were cautioned, while they neglect the duty required from them under the bond of an indenture, not to anticipate the pleasures and advantages of future life.

His style was now colloquial, with little use of motion; pertinent expositions, with suitable remarks; and all comprehended within the hour. Christian experience principally made the subject of Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday evening lectures; when, frequently having funeral sermons to preach, the character and experience of the dead helped to elucidate

* This society consisting of several hundreds of widows, married people, young men, and spinsters, placed separately in the area of the Tabernacle, used after sermon to receive from Mr. Whitefield in the colloquial style, various exhortations comprised in short sentences, and suitable to their various stations. The practice of christianity in all its branches, was then usually inculcated, not without some pertinent anecdote of a character worthy to be held up for an example, and in whose conduct the hints recommended were exemplified.

the subject, led to press diligence in the christian course, to reflect upon the blessing of faith on earth, and glory in heaven. Mr. Whitefield adopted the custom of the inhabitants of New England in their best days, of beginning the Sabbath at six o'clock on Saturday evenings. The custom could not be observed by many, but it was convenient to a few—a few compared with the multitudes, but abstractedly considered, a large and respectable company. Now ministers of every description found a peculiar pleasure in relaxing their minds from the fatigues of study, and were highly entertained by his peculiarly excellent subjects, which were so suitable to the auditory, that I believe it was seldom disappointed. It was an opportunity peculiarly suited to apprentices and journeymen in some businesses, which allowed of their leaving work sooner than on other days, and availing themselves at least of the sermon; from which I also occasionally obtained many blessings. Had my memory been retentive, and I had studiously treasured up his rich remarks, how much more easily might I have met your wishes, and have answered the design of this letter! But though I have lost much of the letter of his sermons, the savour of them yet remains. The peculiar talents he possessed, subservient to great usefulness, can be but faintly guessed from his sermons in print; though, as formerly, God has made the reading of them useful, I have no doubt but in future they will have their use. The eighteen taken in short hand, and faithfully transcribed by Mr. Gurney, have been supposed to do discredit to his memory, and therefore they were suppressed. But they who have been accustomed to hear him, may collect from them much of his genuine preaching. They were far from being the best specimens that might have been produced. He preached many of them, when, in fact, he was almost incapable of preaching at all. His constitution, long before they were taken, had received

its material shock, and they were all, except the two last, the production of a Wednesday evening; when by the current business of the day, he was fatigued and worn out. The "Good shepherd" was sent him on board the ship. He was much disgusted with it, and expressed himself to me as in the 1440th letter of the third volume of his works—"It is not verbatim as I delivered it. In some places it makes me speak false concord, and even nonsense; in others the sense and connexion is destroyed by the injudicious disjointed paragraphs, and the whole is entirely unfit for the public review." His manuscript Journal notes—"September 15. This morning came a surreptitious copy of my Tabernacle farewell sermon, taken, as the short-hand writer professes, verbatim as I spoke it; but surely he is mistaken. The whole is so injudiciously paragraphed, and so wretchedly connected, that I owe no thanks to the misguided, though it may be well meant, zeal of the writer and publisher, be they whom they will. But such conduct is an unavoidable tax upon popularity." He was then like an ascending Elijah, and many were eager to catch his dropping mantle. In the sermons referred to, there are certainly many jewels, though they may not be connected in a proper order.

Whatever fault criticism may find with his sermons from the press, they were, in the delivery, powerful to command the most devoted attention. I have been informed by good judges, that if many of the speeches in our two houses were to be given in their original state, they would not appear to the first advantage, nor would Mr. Whitefield's sermons have had criminal defects, had they been revised with his own pen. In the fifth and sixth volumes of his works, all the sermons he ever printed are comprised. It is very easy to distinguish them which were pre-composed, from others which were preached extemporary. Of the latter, I

notice Peter's denial of his Lord, and the true way of beholding the Lamb of God; Abraham offering up his son Isaac; Christ the believer's husband, and the resurrection of Lazarus. These and others preserve the extemporary style, and fully serve to discover the exactness of the preacher. He shines brightest with a long text, on which fancy has scope to play, and the mind has liberty to range. However exact he may appear in the page, it is impossible for the natural man, who discerneth not the things of the spirit, to understand him. God may make the page printed, the instrument in his hand to convert the sinner, and then he will no longer ask, "Doth he not speak parables?" But till then, as living he was, so dead, he is liable to the lash of severity: but the same Providence that preserved his person, will maintain his works; and then he being dead, yet speaketh, and will continue to speak for a great while to come. Whatever invidious remarks they may make upon his written discourses, they cannot invalidate his preaching. Mr. Toplady called him the prince of preachers, and with good reason, for none in our day preached with the like effect. That a large measure of the spirit with which he spoke, may rest upon you, and that you, with the supply of your measure of the gift of Christ, may be stedfast, immoveable, and always abounding in the work of the Lord, until you cease to labour, and enter into rest, is the prayer of,

My very dear friend,
your's, affectionately,
CORNELIUS WINTER.

"He who engages himself to fight the battles of the Lord," says a late minister of the gospel, "has need of uncommon strength and irresistible arms; and if he be destitute of one or the other, he vainly expects to stand in the evil day." Mr. Whitefield was exposed to a vast

variety of dangers, and beset with innumerable enemies. His whole life was one continued scene of warfare, in which he wrestled sometimes with visible, and at other times with invisible adversaries. He saw it absolutely necessary to be furnished with weapons of celestial temper in this spiritual warfare; and he put on "the whole armour of God," with a determined resolution never to put it off, till his last conflict should be decided. This sacred panoply enabled him to grapple with his strongest enemies; and made him truly invincible in the cause of godliness.

It becomes all who are called to the sacred office of the ministry to be faithful in the discharge of that work committed to them. They are not to be as "sullen lamps, enlightening only themselves;" but as conspicuous suns, enlightening and animating all around them. Mr. Whitefield entered upon the duties of his vocation with an extraordinary degree of earnestness and zeal. He saw the difficulties of his situation, and the reproaches to which he should be exposed, by a conscientious discharge of his duty; but, persuaded of the importance of his charge, and concerned for the welfare of immortal souls upon the very verge of destruction, he set his face like a flint against all who might oppose the truth or grace of God. Whatever his hand found to do, in any part of the sacred vineyard, it may be truly said, that he did it with *all his might*. As a steward of the manifold grace of God, he faithfully dispensed the word of life, according as every man had need. He was a laborious workman in his Lord's vineyard. Instant in season and out of season, he diligently performed the work of an evangelist, and lost no opportunity of declaring the truths of the gospel. It appears from a little memorandum-book, wherein he minuted the times and places of his ministerial labours, that he preached upwards of *eighteen thousand* sermons in the course of

his ministry, which included thirty-four years and a quarter; which was somewhat more than *five hundred sermons a year*. The day preceding his death, he expressed a great desire to enter his eternal rest; at the same time saying, "Lord, thou knowest I am not weary *of* thy work, though I am weary *in* it!" Every duty of his sacred vocation, this apostolic man performed, with an earnestness and zeal, of which I can convey but a very imperfect idea. Never weary of well doing, he counted it his greatest privilege "to spend and be spent" in ministering to the church of God, and in the service of which he sacrificed his strength, his health, and his life.

He was "a burning and a shining light"—a Boanerges, and yet a Barnabas in the church of God. Whether the enemies of God appeared in the splendour of riches, or in the meanness of poverty; whether they were distinguished by their erudition, or despicable by their ignorance, he marshalled against them the most terrible denunciations of the Almighty's wrath. Unawed either by the majesty of kings, or the madness of the people, he was equally fitted to appear with Moses at an impious court, or to stand with Stephen in a turbulent assembly. The fidelity with which he performed this part of his duty, is worthy of admiration.

But while he was faithful, in proclaiming "the day of vengeance" to the wicked, he neglected not "to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that were bound." In the discharge of this favourite part of his office, he was equally faithful as in the former. He shunned not to declare the whole counsel of God. He made Jesus the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and ending of all his ministrations. He explored the intricate mazes, and unlocked the secret recesses of the human heart. He was solicitously concerned to have his hearers thoroughly convinced that

they were sinful lost creatures, exposed to the everlasting vengeance of a righteous God. He displayed the infinitely tender love, and immensely free grace of Jesus, in dying for hell-deserving man. He pointed the sinner to the Lamb of God, whose blood cleanseth from all sin; whose merits are infinite, and able to save to the uttermost; and whose righteousness is sufficient to justify the ungodly. Thus with all possible plainness and fidelity, this apostolic preacher administered the word of God in his day and generation, whether it was a word of threatening to the careless and impenitent, or a word of consolation to the fearful and afflicted.

The inexpressible concern which he felt for the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ, and the salvation of immortal souls, induced him to go forth into the highways and hedges to publish the gospel; and anxious to do "the work of an evangelist" with all possible fidelity, he was not ashamed, that every hour and every place should bear testimony to the affectionate zeal, with which he exhorted the ignorant, the careless, and the abandoned, to "flee from the wrath to come." Considering himself as a minister of the church of Christ, he complained of no hardships, nor thought any difficulty too great to be encountered, in winning souls to Christ. He was careful to act, in every instance, consistently with his high profession. He preferred the path of duty before the lap of repose; he listened not to the suggestion of fear, nor regarded the dictates of worldly prudence; and he *counted* neither ease, nor interest, nor reputation, nor even life itself, *dear* to him, that he might "finish his course with joy."

An attempt towards a concise character of the late Rev. George Whitefield, by the Rev. Augustus Montague Toplady, A. B. late vicar of Broad Hembury, Devon.

"I deem myself happy in having an opportunity of thus publicly avowing the inexpressible esteem, in which I held this wonderful man; and the affectionate veneration which I must ever retain for the memory of one, whose acquaintance and ministry were attended with the most important spiritual benefit to me, and to tens of thousands beside.

"It will not be saying too much, if I term him, THE APOSTLE OF THE ENGLISH EMPIRE: in point of zeal for God, a long course of indefatigable and incessant labours, unparalleled disinterestedness, and astonishingly extensive usefulness.

He was a true and faithful son of the church of England; and invincibly asserted her doctrines, to the last; and that, not in a merely doctrinal way, though he was a most excellent systematic divine, but with an unction of power from God, unequalled in the present day.

"He would never have quitted even the walls of the church, had not either the ignorance, or the malevolence of some who ought to have known better, compelled him to a seeming separation.

"If the absolute command over the passions of immense auditories, be the mark of a consummate orator, he was the greatest of the age. If the strongest good sense, the most generous expansions of heart, the most artless but captivating affability, the most liberal exemptions from bigotry, the purest and most transpicuous integrity, the brightest chearfulness and the promptest wit, enter into the composition of social excellence, he was one of the best companions in the world.

"If to be steadfast, immoveable, always abounding in the works of the Lord; if an union of the most brilliant, with the most solid, ministerial gifts, ballasted by a deep and humbling experience of grace, and crowned with the most extended success in the conversion of

sinners, and edification of saints, be signatures of a commission from heaven, GEORGE WHITEFIELD cannot but stand highest on the modern list of christian ministers.

" England has had the honour of producing the greatest men, in almost every walk of useful knowledge. At the head of these are:—1st. Archbishop BRADWARDIN, the prince of divines; 2d. MILTON, the prince of poets; 3d. Sir ISAAC NEWTON, the prince of philosophers: and 4th. WHITEFIELD, the prince of preachers.

" Bishop Benson was the prelate who had the distinguished honour of ordaining the greatest, the most eloquent, and the most useful minister that has, perhaps, been produced since the days of the apostles.

" It appears from a passage in one of Mr. Whitefield's own letters, published since his decease, that he was the person, whom the gracious spirit and providence of God raised up and sent forth, to begin that great work of spiritual revival in the church of England, which has continued ever since, and still continues, with increasing spread, to replenish and enrich the evangelical vineyard by law established. In the remarkable passage to which I refer, Mr. Whitefield expresses himself verbatim, thus, to the Rev. John Wesley:—" As God was pleased to send me out first, and to enlighten me first; so, I think, he still continues to do it; my business seems to be chiefly in planting. If God sends you to water, I praise his name."—On the whole, he was the least imperfect character I ever knew; and yet, no person was ever more shockingly traduced and villified, by those who either were unacquainted with him, or who hated him for his virtues, and for his attachment to the gospel of Christ. But the pen of faithful history, and the suffrages of unprejudiced posterity, will do justice to the memory of a man, of whom the present generation was not worthy."

The following lines, by the inimitable pen of Cowper, who did not disdain to tune his harp to themes, which

formerly vibrated on the harp of the son of Jesse, and whose poetical characteristic is truth and taste, are transcribed, as descriptive of that invaluable man, and by being inserted in proximity with the character given by Mr. Toplady, it is presumed cannot fail of being interesting to the reader.

LENCONOMAS, beneath well-sounding Greek
I slur a name, a poet must not speak,
Stood pilloried on infamy's high stage,
And bore the pelting scorn of half an age.
The very bust of slander, and the blot
For ev'ry dart that malice ever shot.
The man that mention'd *him*, at once dismiss'd
All mercy from his lips, and sneer'd and hiss'd.
His crimes were such as Sodom never knew,
And perjury stood up to swear all true:
His aim was mischief, and his zeal pretence,
His speech rebellion against common sense:
A knave when tried on honesty's plain rule,
And when by that of reason, a mere fool.
The world's best comfort was, his doom was pass'd,
Die when he might, he must be damn'd at last.
Now truth perform thine office, waft aside
The curtain drawn by prejudice and pride;
Reveal, the man is dead, to wond'ring eyes,
This more than monster in his proper guise.
He loved the world that hated him: the tear
That dropp'd upon his bible was sincere.
Assail'd by scandal, and the tongue of strife,
His only answer was—a blameless life:
And he that forged, and he that threw the dart,
Had each a brother's interest in his heart.
Paul's love of Christ, and steadiness unbrib'd,
Were copied close in him, and well transcrib'd;
He followed Paul—his zeal a kindred flame,
His apostolic charity the same.
Like him cross'd cheerfully tempestuous seas,
Forsaking country, kindred, friends, and ease;
Like him he labour'd, and like him, content
To bear it, suffer'd shame where'er he went.
Blush calumny! and write upon his tomb,
If honest eulogy can spare thee room,
Thy deep repentance of thy thousand lies,
Which aim'd at him, have pierced th' offended skies;
And say, blot out my sin, confess'd deplor'd,
Against thine image in thy saint O Lord!

Mr. Whitefield's executors having received the probate of his will, February 6, 1771, Mr. Keen, who was well acquainted with the whole of his affairs, published it, with the following introduction:

"As we make no doubt the numerous friends of the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, will be glad of an opportunity of seeing a genuine copy of his last will and testament, his executors have favoured us with a copy of the same, transmitted to them from the Orphan-house, in Georgia, and which they have proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. And as it was Mr. Whitefield's constant declaration, he never meant to raise either a purse or a party, it is to be remarked, that almost the whole sum he died possessed of, came to him within two or three years of his death, in the following manner, viz. Mrs. Thomson, of Tower Hill, bequeathed him 500l.---by the death of his wife, (including a bond of 300l.) he got 700l.---Mr. Whitmore bequeathed him 100l. and Mr. Winder 100l. And it is highly probable, that had he lived to reach Georgia, from his last northern tour, he would have lessened the above sums, by disposing of them in the same noble and disinterested manner, that all the public or private sums he has been entrusted with, have been.

"GEORGIA.

"By his Excellency James Wright, Captain General, Governor and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's said province of Georgia, Chancellor and Vice-Admiral of the same:

"To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting—Know ye, that Thomas Moodie, who hath certified the annexed copy from the original, in the Secretary's office, is Deputy Secretary of the said province; and therefore all due faith and credit is, and ought to be had and given to such his certificate.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the great seal of this his Majesty's said province, to be put and affixed, dated at Savannah, the 10th day of December in the year of our Lord, 1770, and in the eleventh year of the reign of his Majesty King George the Third.

By his Excellency's command,

Thomas Moodie, D. Secretary. J. WRIGHT.

"In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons, but one God; I, GEORGE WHITEFIELD, Clerk, at present residing at the Orphan-house Academy, in the province of Georgia, in North America, being through infinite mercy in more than ordinary bodily health, and a perfectly sound and composed mind, knowing the certainty of death, and yet the uncertainty of the time I shall be called by it to my long-wished-for home, do make this my last will and testament, in manner and form following, viz.

"*Imprimis*—In sure and certain hope of a resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ, I commit my body to the dust, to be buried in the most plain and decent manner; and knowing in whom I have believed, being persuaded that he will keep that which I have committed unto him, in the fullest assurance of faith I commend my soul into the hands of the ever-loving, altogether lovely, never-failing Jesus, on whose complete and everlasting righteousness I entirely depend, for the justification of my person, and acceptance of my poor, worthless, though I trust sincere performances, at that day when he shall come in the glory of his father, his own glory, and the glory of his holy angels, to judge both the quick and dead. In respect to my American concerns, which I have engaged in simply and solely for his great name's sake, I leave that building, commonly called the Orphan-house, at Bethesda, in the province of Georgia, together with all the other buildings lately erected thereon; and likewise all other buildings, lands, negroes, books, furniture, and every other thing whatsoever, which I now stand possessed of in the province of Georgia aforesaid, to that elect lady, that mother in Israel, that mirror of true and undefiled religion, the Right Honourable Selina, Countess Dowager of Huntingdon; desiring, that as soon as may be after my decease, the plan of the intended Orphan-house, Bethesda College may be prosecuted, if not practicable, or eligible, to pursue the present plan of the Orphan-house Academy, on its old foundation and usual channel; but if her ladyship should be called to enter her glorious rest before my deceasse—I bequeath all the buildings, lands, negroes, and every thing before mentioned, which I now stand possessed of in the province of Georgia aforesaid, to my dear fellow-traveller and faithful, invariable friend, the Honourable James Habersham, President of his Majesty's Honourable Council: and should he survive her Ladyship, I earnestly recommend him as the most proper person to succeed her Ladyship, or to act for her during her Ladyship's life-time, in the Orphan-house Academy.---With regard to my outward affairs in England; whereas there is a building, commonly called the Tabernacle, set apart many years ago for divine worship---I give and bequeath the said Tabernacle, with the adjacent house in which I usually reside when in London, with the stable and coach-house in the yard,

adjoining, together with all books, furniture, and every thing else whatsoever, that shall be found in the house and premises aforesaid; and also the building, commonly called Tottenham-Court Chapel, together with all the other buildings, houses, stable, coach-house, and every thing else whatsoever, which I stand possessed of in that part of the town, to my worthy, trusty, tried friends, Daniel West, Esq. in Church-street, Spitalfields, and Mr. Robert Keen,* woollen draper, in the Minories, or the longer survivor of the two.---As to the monies, which a kind Providence, especially of late, in a most unexpected way, and unthought of means, hath vouchsafed to entrust me with---I give and bequeath the sum of 100l. sterling to the Right Honourable the Countess Dowager of Huntingdon aforesaid, humbly beseeching her Ladyship's acceptance of so small a mite, as a pepper-corn acknowledgement, for the undeserved unsought for honour her Ladyship conferred upon me, in appointing me, less than the least of all, to be one of her Ladyship's domestic chaplains.

"*Item*—I give and bequeath to my dearly beloved friend, the Honourable James Habersham aforesaid, my late wife's gold watch, and 10l. for mourning---to my dear old friend, Gabriel Harris, Esq. of the city of Gloucester, who received and

* Two persons could not have been more happily associated, than Mr. West and Mr. Keen. They were always regular and exact in the discharge of the weighty duties that devolved upon them. An uninterrupted harmony characterized all their public transactions. It was ever their study to conciliate the affections of the ministers, to promote the glory of Jesus Christ, and the spiritual interests of the congregations; and they had the happiness to see the pleasure of the Lord prosper in their hands.

Mr. Keen breathed out his happy soul into the hands of his Redeemer, on the 30th of January, 1793. His name deserves to be recorded in the annals of the church, as an illustrious example of holiness and zeal in the cause of God.

Mr. West fell asleep in Jesus, on the 30th of September 1796, in the seventieth year of his age. He was for many years a happy subject of divine grace, and a zealous and approved friend of the gospel. For thirteen years before his death, he was greatly affected with a painful malady in his bladder. His sufferings were extreme, both night and day; but was never heard to utter a murmuring expression.

His corpse was carried to Tottenham-Court Chapel, attended by a vast number of mourning coaches, and interred under the Communion-table, in a vault that contained the remains of Mrs. Whitefield, Mrs. West, and Mr. Keen. The Rev Mr. Edwards read the burial service, and the Rev. Joel Abraham Knight, delivered an oration. Two funeral sermons were preached on the following sabbath; that in the morning, at Tottenham-Court Chapel, by the Rev. Torial Joss, from Psalm cxii. 6. and that in the evening, at the Tabernacle, by the Rev. Matthew Wilks, from John xii. 26.

It is a singular circumstance, that Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Keen, and Mr. West, all died on the 30th day of the month, and Mr. Whitefield and Mr. West. on the 30th of September.

Mr. West by his last will, bequeathed the management of the places, to Samuel Foyster, Esq. and John Wilson, Esq. gentlemen well known in the christian world.

boarded me in his house, when I was helpless and destitute, above thirty-five years ago, I give and bequeath the sum of 50l.---to my humble, faithful servant and friend, Mr. Ambrose Wright, if in my service and employ, either in England or America, or elsewhere, at the time of my decease, I give and bequeath the sum of 500l.---to my brother, Mr. Thomas Whitefield, I give and bequeath the sum of 50l. to be given him at the discretion of Mr. Robert Keen---to my brother-in-law, Mr. James Smith, hosier, in the city of Bristol, I give and bequeath the sum of 50l. and 30l. also for family mourning---to my niece, Mrs. Frances Hartford, of Bath, I give and bequeath the sum of 50l. and 20l. for family mourning---to Mr. J. Crane, now a faithful steward, at the Orphan-house Academy, I give and bequeath the sum of 40l.---to Mr. Benjamin Stirk, as an acknowledgement of his past services at Bethesda, I give and bequeath the sum of 10l. for mourning---to Peter Edwards, now at the Orphan-house Academy, I give and bequeath the sum of 50l.---to William Trigg, at the same place, I give and bequeath the sum of 50l; both the sums aforesaid to be laid out, or laid up for them, at the discretion of Mr. Ambrose Wright---to Mr. Thomas Adams, of Rodborough, in Gloucestershire, my only surviving first fellow labourer, and beloved much in the Lord, I give and bequeath the sum of 50l.---to the Rev. Mr. Howel Davies, of Pembrokeshire, in South Wales, that good soldier of Jesus Christ---to Mr. Torial Joss, Mr. Cornelius Winter, and all my other dearly beloved present stated assistant preachers at Tabernacle and Tottenham-Court Chapel, I give and bequeath 10l. each for mourning---to the three brothers of Mr. Ambrose Wright, Ann the wife of his brother, Mr. Robert Wright, now faithfully and skilfully labouring and serving at the Orphan-house Academy, I give and bequeath the sum of 10l. each for mourning---to Mr. Richard Smith, now a diligent attendant on me, I give and bequeath the sum of 50l. and all my wearing apparel, which I shall have with me in my journey through America, or on my voyage to England, if it should please an all-wise God to shorten my days in either of those situations.---Finally, I give and bequeath the sum of 100l. to be distributed at the discretion of my executors, herein after-mentioned, for mourning among my old London servants, the poor widows at Tottenham-Court Chapel, and the Tabernacle poor; especially my old trusty, disinterested friend and servant, Mrs. Elizabeth Wood. All the other residue, if there be any other residues of monies, goods, and chattels, or whatsoever profits may arise from the sale of any books, or any manuscripts that I may leave behind, I give and bequeath to the Right Honourable the Countess Dowager of Huntingdon; or in case of her Ladyship being deceased at the time of my departure, to the Honourable James Habersham, Esq. before-mentioned, after my funeral expences and just debts are discharged, towards paying off any arrears

that may be due on the account of the Orphan-house Academy, or for annual prizes as a reward for the best three orations that shall be made in English, on the subjects mentioned in a paper annexed to this my will. And I hereby appoint the Honourable James Habersham, Esq. aforesaid, to be my executor in respect to my affairs in the province of Georgia, and my trusty, tried, dearly beloved friends, Charles Hardy, Esq. Daniel West, Esq. and Mr. Robert Keen, to be executors of this my last will and testament, in respect of my affairs in England, begging each to accept of a mourning ring.

"To all my other christian benefactors, and more intimate acquaintance, I leave my most hearty thanks and blessing, assuring them that I am more and more convinced of the undoubted reality, and infinite importance of the grand gospel truths, which I have from time to time delivered; and am so far from repenting my delivering them in an itinerant way, that had I strength equal to my inclination, I would preach them from pole to pole; not only because I have found them to be the power of God to the salvation of my own soul, but because I am as much assured that the great Head of the church hath called me by his word, providence, and spirit, to act in this way, as that the sun shines at noon day.—As for my enemies, and misjudging friends, I most freely and heartily forgive them, and can only add, that the last tremendous day will only discover what I have been, what I am, and what I shall be, when time itself shall be no more; and therefore from my inmost soul, I close all by crying, *Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly; even so, Lord Jesus. Amen and Amen!*

"GEORGE WHITEFIEED."

"This was written with the testator's own hand, and at his desire, and in his presence, sealed, signed, and delivered, at the Orphan-house Academy, in the province of Georgia, before us witnesses, anno domini, March 22, 1770.

Signed, { ROBERT BOLTON, THOMAS DIXON, CORNELIUS WINTER.

"N. B. I also leave a mourning ring, to my honoured and dear friends, and disinterested fellow-labourers, the Rev. John and Charles Wesley, in token of my indissoluble union with them, in heart and christian affection, notwithstanding our difference in judgment about some particular points of doctrine. Grace be with all them, of whatever denomination, that love our Lord Jesus, our common Lord in sincerity."

" GEORGIA, *Secretary's Office.*

" A true copy, taken from the original in this office, examined and certified: and I do further certify, that the same was duly proved; and the Hon. James Habersham, one of the executors therein named, was duly qualified as executor, before his excellency, James Wright, Esq. Governor and Ordinary of the said province, this 10th day of December, 1770.

THOMAS MOODIE, *Deputy Secretary.*

FINIS.

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